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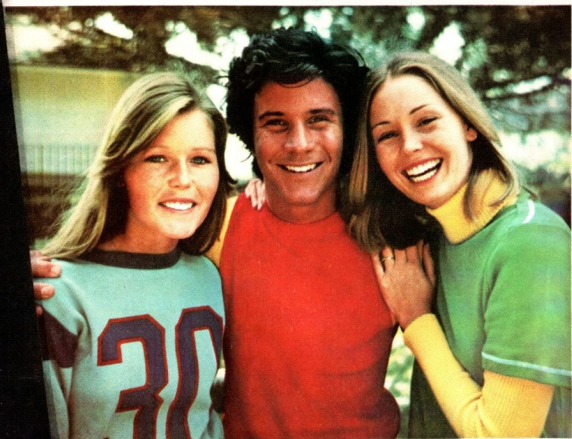
NOVEMBER 17, 1975

TIME

'MY GUYS'

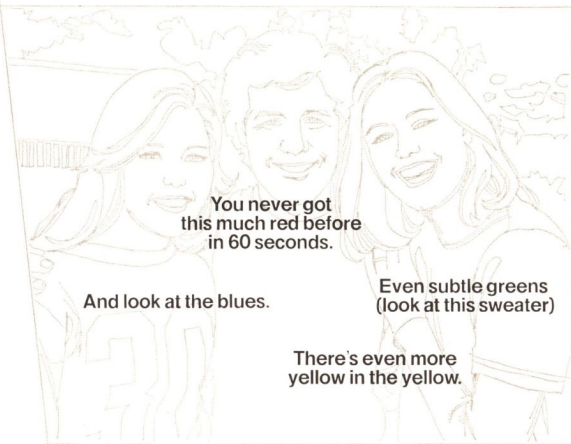


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BUREAU CHIEF PRAGER (LEFT) & ASSISTANTS IN SHATTERED OFFICE

A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

When heavy street fighting forced the Associated Press to abandon its headquarters in Beirut's Kantari district, one staffer left a note pinned to the wall. "Welcome to our guests," it said in flowery Arabic. "We hope our guests will protect the contents of the office because they are a trust in their hands. Thank you." Last week the A.P. reporters returned and found that somebody had left a note underneath the first one. "We are deeply sorry," it said, in equally flowery Arabic, "but we damaged the building because there was a sniper..."

All wars impose an ugly risk on the reporters sent to cover them, for sniper fire recognizes no neutrals. So far, two reporters—one Iranian and one Lebanese—have been killed and several others wounded. "There are no rules in this game," says U.P.I. Correspondent Michael Keats, who lost his car to a bomb.

TIME's Beirut Bureau Chief Karsten Prager and Correspondent William Marmon, both veterans of battlefield coverage in Viet Nam, had a ringside seat in TIME's office in the sea-front hotel district. They too had to abandon the office to the street fighters for almost a week. Prager evacuated his wife and four children to safety in Athens. Marmon moved his family to London. Returning to the office last week, they found that it had taken about 30 hits, mainly from 50-cal. armor-piercing machine-gun bullets. The desks were covered with shards of glass and plaster, but the telephones and telex were still working. Says Prager: "The relatively safe areas have become smaller; the box has shrunk." Marmon took advantage of the latest cease-fire to explore further.

He found the scene almost comic. "We drove slowly past the Nasrerie position at the Palm Beach Hotel and the idle warriors posing for macho pictures for photographers," he reported. "One of the leftists squatted with two AK-47 assault rifles at the ready, one in each hand."

As an illustration of the current mood, Prager talks of a messenger who last week came crashing into a press office to report the announcement of the new cease-fire, the twelfth in two months. Half a dozen correspondents were sitting around a battered desk, engaged in a high-stakes poker game. They all looked up, shrugged, then anted up and went on playing.

Ralph P. Davidson

INDEX

Cover Stories.....9	Education.....74	Modern Living.....66
Color.....8	Forum.....3	Music & Dance.....69
	Law.....64	Nation.....9
Books.....90	Medicine.....61	People.....62
Cinema.....78	Milestones.....73	Sexes.....65
Economy		Theater.....94
& Business.....83		World.....35

The Cover: New Players Donald Rumsfeld and George Bush (donning helmet) with Ford and Kissinger; cartoon by Jack Davis.

TIME is published weekly except semi-weekly during the second week of May, \$22.00 per year, by Time Inc., 541 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, Ill. 60611. Principal office: Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020. James R. Shepley, President; Edward Patrick Lenahan, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Vol. 106 No. 20 © 1975 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited.

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Whatever Happened to Bruce?

To the Editors:

Bruce Springsteen's verse [Oct. 27] is one with my soul. His switchblade songs are finite anthems to my state, and the infinite emotions of my friends.

Bill White Jr.
Shrewsbury, N.J.

A year from now we'll be wondering whatever happened to Bruce Springsteen.

Paul McDowell
Rockmart, Ga.

Maybe with Springsteen, a new generation of rock and unselfish rock musicians will emerge. Perhaps they will

their cover and yet take five years to bestow that honor on the one who deserves it the most—Elton John.

Dawn Thorogood
Upland, Calif.

Bruce is a musical messiah whose time has come. I only hope he is not crucified by renown.

Esther J. Rohnick
Providence

Keeping Karen Alive

Why all the fuss about terminating life [Nov. 3]? It's done every day in abortion clinics.

Sue Shellenbarger
Waynesville, Ohio

I certainly agree that keeping Karen Quinlan alive is cruel and unusual punishment. What I can't understand is how a person can be dead in one state and alive in another.

Betty Buehler
Schenectady, N.Y.

Death is natural. Tubes and needles protruding from useless bodies hooked up to a machine are not.

Carla Y. Anparan
Manhattan Beach, Calif.

Charles Manson and Richard Speck can be protected forever, but God help the sick and the children!

Chris Dennis
Dallas

I'd be tempted to pull the plugs myself. The quality of life is the most important issue, not the prolongation of it.

Evelyn Dzengelski
Endwell, N.Y.

Theologian Marty should rethink his belief that extraordinary treatment be stopped on Karen Quinlan because "in any other age she would be dead anyhow." Termination of treatment hinges not on whether she could have survived in any other age but whether Karen's state is human existence.

Feodor F. Cruz
Columbia, Ill.

Thanks to science we have artificial flavoring, artificial coloring, artificial sweetening and artificial life.

Mike Phelps
Ames, Iowa

Amnesty for New York!

Has no one heard the phrase "a second chance"? The U.S. Government has granted it to Japan, the Soviet Union,

Lockheed and Richard Nixon. Yet it badgers New York [Oct. 27].

Amnesty for N.Y.C.!

Mary Beth Bryan
Whitewater, Wis.

As far as I am concerned, the San Andreas Fault is on the wrong coast. Why should the rest of the nation support the symbol of urban decadence?

Mark Pumphrey
Enid, Okla.

In the 1930s money from New York City helped build the TVA. For decades the city's residents have paid farmers for crop subsidies that only raised their own food prices. The same congressmen who cry that "the city must live within its means" are happy enough to take some of those means to enrich their own constituencies.

Cynthia Dobosy
Madison, Wis.

You indicated that the police require a day off following the ordeal of donating blood. This clearly is another example of how New York City is different. The vast majority of blood donors can and do return to work within an hour of giving.

Herbert F. Polesky, M.D.
President, American Association of
Blood Banks, Minneapolis

We should let New York go "cold turkey," according to Ron Nessen, while we maintain the habits of half the world.

Judith Weisenfeld-Weinberg
Pittsburgh

We are warned that if we allow New York to collapse financially there will be violence and insurrection in the streets.

Splendid! Nothing has proved more salutary than a "whiff of grapeshot" at the right time.

Peter H. Peel
Los Angeles

I care.

New York is everybody's city.

Nina Polcyn Moore
Sauk Centre, Minn.

Vote or Run?

Judging by how many have decided to run for President it seems to me that the Democrats are confused. A democracy is where everyone votes, not where everyone runs.

Elmer Bell
Dunnellon, Fla.

Reluctant Revolution

If Boston's Faneuil Hall survey on current attitudes toward supporting the American Revolution [Oct. 27] can be considered legitimate, I should think there is room for hope. After all, historians tell us that only 33% of the co-



be musicians who want to give audiences good music with emotion and skill, not flash and trash.

Michale A. Cadger
Knoxville, Tenn.

Please do not imply that American youth is eating up the products of "rock's new sensation." I am not.

Bruce Holmes
Arlington, Va.

Five years ago Bruce Springsteen was making the best rock music in the country.

Now he is a rock act, not a rock musician. Bruce, you sold out.

Glenn Habel
Richmond

Bruce Springsteen is a living example of Longfellow's "All things come round to him who will but wait."

David Wells
Pittsburgh

I am beginning to wonder about the intellect of TIME's editors when they are so quick to put a mush-mouthed, off-keyed nothing like Bruce Springsteen on

She will never forget the pain of poverty.



Patsy knows what it is to be poor—so poor she has to live in a slum on the outskirts of a big city in India.

She knows what it feels like to be hungry, to wear cast-off clothes, to sleep on the floor because there is no bed for her.

Patsy lives in a rented home that has only two rooms. She shares the two rooms with her parents and six brothers and sisters. There is no furniture.

Though he works hard, Patsy's father earns less than \$250 a year, not nearly enough to provide for the family's needs. Her mother is illiterate and does not have a job. And a child like Patsy cannot change her drab, hopeless life—unless someone more fortunate will help.

But Patsy is one of the lucky ones who now has a chance to escape from this poverty. She has a kind sponsor here in this country who is helping her through the Christian Children's Fund.

Patsy attends a school affiliated with CCF. She gets her school uniforms and other clothes and her books, and at the school she is given breakfast, lunch and snacks.

For Patsy, going to school—getting an education—is the happiest part of her life. You see, in spite of all her troubles, little Patsy wants to be a teacher when she grows up. And if she succeeds, she can become a useful adult, able to help other youngsters learn to rely on themselves.

Through the Christian Children's Fund, you can be a part of this person-to-person way of sharing your love with needy children—deserving children like Patsy who want only a chance to make it on their own. They need your help or their lives may be stunted by poverty and neglect.

You can sponsor a child for only \$15 a month. Just fill out the coupon and send it with your first monthly check. You will receive your sponsored child's name, address and photograph, plus a description of the project. You are encouraged to write to the child and your letters will be answered. (Children unable to write are assisted by family members or staff workers.)

You can have the satisfaction of knowing that your love can make a big difference in the life of a needy child. Please fill out the coupon now . . .

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☐ Please send me more information.

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City_____

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FORUM

lonial population supported the Revolution, compared with the reported 44% today.

If this per century rise of 5.5% continues, by the year 2976 we shall at last all agree that it was worth the effort; better late than never.

Dean C. Curry
Claremont, Calif.

Not Guilty

The 600 union printers employed at the Washington Post are not on strike [Oct. 27]. They are involved in it only by indirection.

Our members are honoring the Post picket line, but we are not on strike. Since printers do not man the Post presses, our members were not involved in any damage to those presses.

Jesse B. Manbeck, Acting President
Typographical Union No. 101
Washington, D.C.

No Answer, No Money

You stated that the U.S. Department of Labor has established a standard for payment within 28 days of filing a claim [Oct. 27].

I lost two fingers in an on-the-job injury over ten months ago. I haven't even been able to get a reply, much less a payment.

Dennis D. Lindsay
Silver Spring, Md.

Off Target

Your "No Prime Time for Ford" [Oct. 20] was off target. Our law department states that the FCC has held time and again that presidential speeches do not qualify for exemption from the equal-time law as "on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events" unless they are of utmost national or international emergency.

We agree that the President's speech was indeed "newsworthy," and CBS News hardly "blackened it out." The night of the speech, at 11:01 p.m., we fed out a summary and highlights of the speech. We also fed the entire speech to the stations, beginning at 11:15 p.m. The next day we included several minutes of highlights. On the evening news on Tuesday, we included a follow-up.

Richard S. Salant
President, CBS News
New York City

Why should the President always have prime time? One network carrying his speech is enough. Let them rotate. Give the President some competition and see where he comes in the ratings.

Shelley Frey
Lancaster, Pa.

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

Smoking.

What are you going to do about it?

Many people are against cigarettes. You've heard their arguments. And even though we're in the business of selling cigarettes, we're not going to advance arguments in favor of smoking.

We simply want to discuss one irrefutable fact.

A lot of people are still smoking cigarettes. In all likelihood, they'll continue to smoke cigarettes and nothing anybody has said or is likely to say is going to change their minds.

Now, if you're one of these cigarette smokers, what are you going to do about it? You may continue to smoke your present brand. With all the enjoyment and pleasure you get from smoking it. Or, if 'tar' and nicotine has become a concern to you, you may consider changing to a cigarette like Vantage.

(Of course, there is no other cigarette quite like Vantage.)

Vantage has a unique filter that allows rich flavor to come through it and yet substantially cuts down on 'tar' and nicotine.

We want to be frank. Vantage is not the lowest 'tar' and nicotine cigarette you can buy. But it may well be the lowest 'tar' and nicotine cigarette you will enjoy smoking.

Vantage. It's the only cigarette that gives you so much taste with so little 'tar' and nicotine.

We suggest you try a pack.



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

FILTER: 12 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine. MENTHOL: 11 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report MAR. '75.



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THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE Nov. 17, 1975 Vol. 106, No. 20

TIME



THE ADMINISTRATION/COVER STORIES

FORD'S COSTLY PURGE

A concerned Gerald Ford met with some of his closest old friends and domestic advisers three weeks ago for a bare-knuckle assessment of what had gone wrong with his presidency. During the year of transition from the trauma of the Nixon Administration, his open and candid manner had calmed and reassured the nation. But then his fortunes had changed. His popularity fell to a low 47% in the Gallup poll late in October. His tireless campaigning for election drew yawns from even the party faithful. Ronald Reagan was challenging him on the right and moving up in the polls. More and more Americans were complaining that Ford's presidency lacked purpose and direction. Thus, at the private strategy session, recalled one adviser, "the President was urged to make everybody understand that he was definitely calling the shots."

Last week Ford tried to seize control of the situation with a barrage of firings and hirings such as the nation had not seen before, with the exception—in very different circumstances—of the Saturday Night Massacre by the desperate Nixon Administration in 1973 (see following story). For Ford, the moves backfired—at least initially. To many Americans, his actions seemed abrupt, not to say panicky. Instead of strength and certainty, he conveyed the impression that he was stumbling and dominated by political motives.

Ford insisted that he only wanted to field "my own team" in the crucial area of national security; he invoked the word team 16 times during a 33-minute televised press conference, four times in a single sentence. He exulted, "I did it totally on my own. It was my decision. I fitted the pieces together, and they fitted excellently... These are my guys." Despite the Mr. Touchdown talk, the explanation did not score: the men who were benched had all served Ford ably. If his shuffling had been done only to put in more congenial and compliant subordinates, then it was even more unattractive and potentially dangerous.

Most of the criticism focused on the summary dismissal of Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, an iconoclastic intellectual who says what he thinks—often in a prickly way. Was the reason for the firing his strong dissent from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's brand of détente? Or was it that Ford considered him overly acerbic, abrasive, aggressive? The answer, it seemed, was

a combination of both, with the personal motive outweighing the policy problem. A President is certainly entitled to fire advisers with whom he cannot work. But a self-assured President should also be tolerant of dissent for the sake of keeping himself open to different points of view.

Ford's reasons for firing CIA Director William Colby were clearer. A fresh figure, preferably someone from outside the intelligence community, was needed to restore public confidence in the agency. Moreover, in the Administration's view, Colby had been too forthcoming in releasing secret information about the CIA's past misdeeds to the congressional investigating committees. But Ford's timing in dismissing Colby was odd indeed. Many political leaders wondered why the President had not waited until the investigations were over.

At the same time, many liberal and moderate Republicans were disturbed by Nelson Rockefeller's announcement that he was withdrawing from consideration as Ford's Vice President in 1976. Despite Ford's denials, the consensus in Washington was that the President had got the word to Rocky to jump before he was pushed. Ford's purpose: to keep conservative Republicans from deserting to Reagan.

In general, Congressmen of both parties felt that Ford had blundered, not only because of some bad timing and a lack of usual courtesies, but, more important, because of the questionable caliber of a couple of the replacements. As successors to Schlesinger and Colby, Ford chose two ambitious and heatedly partisan Republicans: for Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, the White House chief of staff; for CIA director, George Bush, the chief of the U.S. liaison office in Peking. Senator Henry Jackson, a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, charged that Ford was surrounding himself with "yes men and lackeys." The switches further increased the record number of high-level Administration changes since 1969, a churning of Government that not only reflects bad management but also has upset planning and subverted morale in many departments.

Ford's credibility with the American public suffered. For the first time, the earnest, honest man from Grand Rapids looked straight into the television cameras and obviously dissembled. He insisted that "there were no basic differences" on détente between Schlesinger and Secretary of State Henry Kissin-

ger. An incredulous reporter, John Osborne of the *New Republic*, asked a carefully worded follow-up question: "Are you saying and intending to be understood to say that neither personal nor policy differences between Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Schlesinger contributed to this change?" Responded Ford: "That is correct." But on Sunday, Ford shifted considerably, admitting on *Meet the Press* that "a growing tension" among top Administration officials led him to fire Schlesinger. He added: "I was uncomfortable in the situation."

How will all this affect the '76 campaign? On one hand the Republican right will be placated—at least tentatively and temporarily—by Rockefeller's withdrawal. With Rocky gone, said Republican Governor James E. Holsinger Jr. of North Carolina, "it will now be more difficult to mount a conservative challenge." Added a Ford campaign aide: "We pulled the rug out from under the Republicans who have been holding out. Now we can say, 'If you want to have an influence on the ticket, you'd better get in line.'"

Candidate Ford can dangle prospects of a vice-presidential nomination to induce various Republicans to back him. Mused California Pollster Mervin Field: "Ford has a wide-open dance card because he's not coming to the prom with a girl of his own." Among the contenders are three members of the Administration's new "team": Rumsfeld, Bush and Elliot Richardson (see page 30), who was named to succeed Rogers Morton as Secretary of Commerce. Morton is expected to take over leadership of the President's campaign from Director Howard ("Bo") Callaway, who has been blamed by many Republicans for its ineptitude.

For all that, and some praise among Republicans for Ford's "decisiveness," the prevailing opinion within the party was that Ford had hurt his chances, although the President himself predicted after the changes that he would be a winner "right up to the end of 1976." Quite a few Republicans, especially conservatives, were unsettled by the sacking of Schlesinger. Others were upset by the way Ford handled the whole shuffle. Said former California Republican Chairman Gordon Luce: "People are asking, 'What is going on in Washington?' Why the musical chairs? Who's in charge?" Such a massive change has to raise the question of whether the Administration is in disarray."



MACHIAVELLI PRESENTS PRINCE GERALDO WITH A NEW DEFENSE SECRETARY, ETC...

Given this disarray, many Republicans would not be surprised to see a challenge to Ford from the party's moderates, possibly even from Rockefeller, who did not rule out the race (see page 19). Until Ford's recent slip in the polls and last week's events, such a challenge from the moderates would have been inconceivable.

Beyond Ford's political future what will the effects of the shake-up be in foreign and defense policy?

The President promised that Kissinger would continue to have the "dominant role in the formulation of and the carrying out of foreign policy." Nonetheless, the changes will diminish Kissinger's powers. Ford stripped Kissinger of his second job, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. In that post, Kissinger chaired the 40 Committee, which oversees the CIA, and had control over all of the foreign policy recommendations sent to the President. Though the job went to a loyal Kissinger aide, Lieut. General Brent Scowcroft, the shift ended Kissinger's monopoly as the President's foreign policy adviser. One White House aide disclosed that Kissinger's daily one-hour private meetings with Ford on foreign policy may be cut down, perhaps even to one session a week. Rumsfeld, unlike Schlesinger, may also meet weekly with Ford—in private or jointly with Kissinger—to provide the President with what White House sources called "broader foreign policy input on a regular basis."

Kissinger and Rumsfeld have had an antagonistic relationship that dates back to the early days of the Ford Administration and has sometimes been displayed in public. One day in September 1974, Kissinger emerged from the Oval Office and facetiously asked Rumsfeld, then U.S. Ambassador to NATO, "Would you like to kiss my ring?" Two months later, both were in Peking with Ford. As they headed for the limousines

one morning, Kissinger asked Rumsfeld, "Would you like to go sightseeing with Nancy or come to the talks with me?" Rumsfeld winced noticeably and replied, "I'll come with you."

Kissinger last week maintained his sense of humor. While briefing congressional Republican leaders on foreign aid, he cracked, "I've been so busy figuring out what jobs I have left that I haven't had time to study this." Showing a visitor a dagger, a gift from the government of Abu Dhabi, Kissinger said with mocking menace, "You see what happens when you turn your back?" Informed by White House Barber Milton Pitts that Jerry Ford was next on his schedule, Kissinger responded, "Tell the President that the only place I'll get to see him now is in the barbershop."

Turning serious, Kissinger argued that the new structure would not reduce his influence. Said he: "In my seventh year in Washington, if I cannot get a fair hearing for my views, then I do not deserve to be in my job." Moreover, it is questionable whether Rumsfeld has the intellectual capacity to compete with Kissinger in debate. But "Rummy" enjoys Ford's full confidence and is much closer to him personally than Kissinger is. Thus, Rumsfeld may well be a powerful and effective rival, particularly if Ford allows election-year politics—on which Rumsfeld is most expert—to influence foreign policy.

Kissinger believes that it would have been easier to forge a SALT II pact with the Soviets if Schlesinger had remained Secretary of Defense. Though the two men differed fundamentally about détente (see page 20), Kissinger respected Schlesinger's intellect and feels they would have reached a compromise. In contrast, Kissinger has no great regard for Rumsfeld. The Soviets have rejected the latest U.S. position on SALT, and Kissinger

fears he must wait until Rumsfeld is confirmed, probably early next year, before finishing work on a new negotiating proposal. Beyond that, the Administration may feel the need to take a tougher position to show conservatives that the firing of Schlesinger does not signal a new American softness. Schlesinger is expected to be called before Congress to testify on the SALT talks, and his opposition may well harden feelings against détente.

Rumsfeld is believed to hold Schlesinger's view that the U.S. should demand more concessions from the Soviets. Last summer, while Ford was flying to Brussels to attend a NATO conference, Rumsfeld worked with him to toughen his language in a speech on détente. Among the statements they composed was a call for a "realistic agenda for détente, an agenda that serves our interests and not the interests of others who do not share our values... that anticipates and precludes the exploitation of our perceived weaknesses."

If Rumsfeld concludes that a SALT agreement will jeopardize Ford's election chances, he might recommend that it be delayed until 1977. Indeed, Ford said at his press conference that the U.S. was "under no time pressure" on SALT.

While Ford insisted that his personnel shake-up did not reflect "any weakness" on national defense, U.S. allies and adversaries were confused about what the changes would mean. Though the Soviets have often criticized Schlesinger as an ugly American, Moscow reacted cautiously to his ouster, because Rumsfeld is virtually unknown to them. In contrast, the Chinese officials feared that Schlesinger's firing could produce closer ties between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. Now they may want to assess the impact of the Cabinet shuffle before confirming that Ford's China trip will take place as scheduled in early December.

South Koreans were shaken by the

loss of Schlesinger, who had been extremely popular because of his recommendation that the U.S. use "nuclear weapons if necessary" to repel any attack from the North. Schlesinger's replacement by Rumsfeld dismayed many European defense officials, who are afraid that the new man will pay more attention to the winds of American politics than the needs of facing up to the Russians. NATO officials got a good look at Rumsfeld while he was the U.S. Ambassador to the alliance, and while they became used to his crisp style, they rank him far behind Schlesinger, who they feel is a brilliant strategist. One NATO official said that his colleagues welcomed having "a tough-minded guy like Schlesinger around who acts as an alternative opinion to Kissinger."

Some Pentagon officials who have worked with Rumsfeld admire his quick mind; others find him shallow. Said a retired general who knew Rumsfeld at NATO: "You had the feeling that he was propped up reading someone else's position paper." Other generals and admirals worried that he would be running for the vice-presidential nomination from the Pentagon's E-Ring. On the other hand, many hoped that Rumsfeld's political savvy would make him more successful than Schlesinger in pressing Pentagon programs on Congress.

George Bush, Ford's choice as CIA

director, is in a similar situation. In his brief, unremarkable diplomatic career, he has served for two years as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and spent the past 13 months as chief of the U.S. liaison office in Peking. But he has no firsthand knowledge of the CIA, its operations or the investigations that have rocked the agency for nearly a year.

In Peking, Bush told a correspondent for the *Toronto Globe and Mail* that he would be a strong defender of the CIA because "I believe in the importance of a sound and strong intelligence capability." His friendship with Ford and experience with Congress, where Bush served two terms in the House, might help the agency as it tries to rebuild after the congressional investigations end.

These considerations were outweighed by apprehension among CIA officers that Bush may also try to use his new job as a steppingstone to the vice presidency. Some CIA officials called him "a pol," "a hack" or "a p.r. man." Said one officer: "It's understandable why the President couldn't pick someone from the profession itself, but did he really have to pick someone who is so much the opposite of a professional?"

Bush faces a stiff confirmation fight from Senators who believe that Ford should have chosen a non-politician. Among the opponents inevitably will be Idaho Democrat Frank Church, who heads the Senate's investigation of the CIA. As if to confirm that the nomina-

tion of Bush had not been considered carefully, Ford had to change his plans to force Colby out immediately. One day after he fired him, the President asked Colby to stay on until Bush is confirmed. Rather belatedly, Ford realized that Bush should remain in Peking until after the presidential visit. Colby's early departure would have left the CIA in the hands of his deputy, General Vernon Walters, during the last stages of the congressional investigations and Bush's confirmation fight. Walters would not be the CIA's best witness before a committee because he was somewhat tainted by the Watergate scandal. Acting on White House orders shortly after the break-in, Walters had urged the FBI to restrict part of its Watergate investigation for national security reasons that turned out to be nonexistent.

Ford's nominations are expected to be confirmed. But none of them excited admiration in Congress, not even among Republicans. Commented one G.O.P. House leader: "Ford said that he wanted 'my guys' in the Government, and then he picked a lot of old faces from the Nixon Administration—Richardson, Rumsfeld, Bush." Team players they may be, but they will have a hard time showing that they fit the positions to which they have been assigned.



Musical Chairs on High

In not quite seven years, the Republican Administrations begun by Richard Nixon and continued by Gerald Ford have had an astonishing record of high-level turnovers. The CIA has gone through three directors—Richard Helms, James Schlesinger and William Colby—and will soon have a fourth, George Bush. The FBI has had four chiefs: J. Edgar Hoover, L. Patrick Gray (acting), William Ruckelshaus (acting) and Clarence Kelley. The Office of Management and Budget (formerly the Budget Bureau) has had five directors: Robert Mayo, George Shultz, Caspar Weinberger, Roy Ash and James Lynn.

Most remarkably, the new nominees will bring to 36 the number of people occupying the eleven Cabinet jobs since January 1969—and that figure does not include the repeat performances of Elliot Richardson, George Shultz and Rogers Morton. The most stable departments have been State (William Rogers, Henry Kissinger) and Agriculture (Clifford Hardin, Earl Butz). All other departments have had from three to six Secretaries:

JUSTICE, six—John Mitchell, Richard Kleindienst, Richardson, Robert Bork (acting Attorney General), William Saxbe, Edward Levi.

COMMERCE, five—Maurice Stans, Peter Peterson, Frederick Dent, Morton, Richardson (nominated).

DEFENSE, four—Melvin Laird, Richardson, Schlesinger, Donald Rumsfeld (nominated).

TREASURY, four—David Kennedy, John Connally, Shultz, William Simon.

LABOR, four—Shultz, James Hodgson, Peter Brennan, John Dunlop.

HEW, four—Robert Finch, Richardson, Weinberger, David Matthews.

INTERIOR, four—Walter Hickel, Morton, Stanley Hathaway, Thomas Kleppe.

HUD, three—George Romney, Lynn, Carla Hills.

TRANSPORTATION, three—John Volpe, Claude Brinegar, William Coleman.

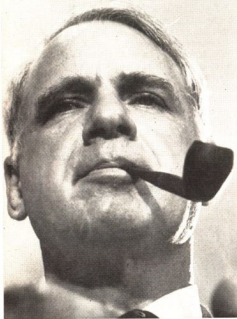


Scenario of the Shake-Up

Gerald Ford's Sunday shake-up had its roots in the very beginning of his Administration and was a belated attempt to deal with several high-level personality and policy clashes.

Even as Ford prepared to take over the Administration from Nixon in August 1974, some members of his informal "kitchen cabinet"—which included former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, former Presidential Aide Bryce Harlow, former Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton, Michigan Senator Robert Griffin, and then NATO Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld—had some advice.

TEYER ARTHUR



DISMISSED DEFENSE CHIEF JAMES SCHLESINGER
"I haven't resigned, sir."

They urged that Ford relieve Henry Kissinger of his job as head of the National Security Council to devote full time to his duties as Secretary of State. No matter how able, they argued, he could not do justice to both, and his dual role tended to "rupture the process" of policymaking. Ford, emphasizing the need for "continuity" in foreign relations, rejected their advice.

Also, when he was still Vice President, he expressed his personal misgivings about working with Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. He told the *New Republic's* John Osborne in April 1974 that if he became President, he might not keep the caustic Schlesinger in his Cabinet because he did not think the Secretary could deal with Congress. Ford, as well, felt uncomfortable with Schlesinger. But, apparently for the sake of continuity, he made no change.

As Ford's Administration pro-

gressed, Kissinger's two-hat burden and Schlesinger's abrasiveness became more troublesome to the President, and in a way, the two problems began to merge. Last March, when Kissinger's Middle East shuttle collapsed just as South Viet Nam and Cambodia began to fall, the Secretary lashed out at Congress for not responding with more arms and money for Southeast Asia. Ford's advisers again warned that Kissinger was overworked and overwrought. But rather than rein in Kissinger, Ford joined him in an unproductive attack on Congress.

At the same time, relations between Kissinger and Schlesinger, two strong-willed, independent men, grew tenser. They had been squabbling since the Yom Kippur War of October 1973, when Kissinger charged that Schlesinger tried to stall the massive resupply of U.S. weapons to the Israelis. A year later, Kissinger promised to consider sending Pershing missiles to Israel; Schlesinger, who had not been consulted when Kissinger made the promise, contended that reopening production lines for the missile was impractical. More seriously, they increasingly disagreed on détente, notably on just what concessions could safely be made to the Russians to gain an agreement on limiting offensive nuclear weapons (see box page 20).

Each suspected the other of using guerrilla tactics. Schlesinger aides complained that their boss would present persuasive views at National Security Council meetings chaired by Kissinger or send reasoned position papers to the White House, but because all national security proposals flowed through Kissinger, arguments were emasculated by the time they reached Ford. Kissinger assistants, in turn, claimed that Schlesinger would seem to concur in policy sessions, then disclose contrary views to reporters. At one NSC meeting attended by Schlesinger and some of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Kissinger threw a copy of *Aviation Week* on the table and, shouting, demanded to know who had leaked a story headlined SOVIET TREATY VIOLATIONS DETECTED. Schlesinger, a strong advocate of tighter measures to prevent cheating on weapons agreements, claimed not to know.

Sometimes Schlesinger did not speak out publicly but, according to some Ford advisers, conveyed his message through his two main supporters in the Senate, Washington Democrat Henry Jackson and New York Republican James Buckley. Says a Buckley aide: "Kissinger's office was keeping the book on Schlesinger. There was a minor industry in the State Department of putting the blocks to him." The suspicions were mutual. Early this year Kis-

singer told Nelson Rockefeller he was convinced that Schlesinger was out to get his job as Secretary of State. Kissinger and Schlesinger began finding reasons to skip their once-a-week scheduled breakfasts. The last was held on Sept. 12.

The impression of a divided Government became embarrassing to Ford. And he faced other problems within his Administration. Both Kissinger and Rockefeller were complaining about the way CIA Director William Colby was candidly answering questions by con-

STANLEY BRUCK—BLACK STAR



OUTGOING CIA CHIEF COLBY
"Good luck, Jim."

gressional committees about the CIA's assassination plots against Cuba's Fidel Castro, its failure to destroy potential biological weapons and its illegal snooping on the mail of domestic political extremists. Publicly, Ford claimed that Colby was carrying out his directions, as befits an "open" Administration; privately, Ford was irritated.

Above all, the politics of trying to discourage a challenge from Ronald Reagan grew urgently important to Ford. Finally, he moved to tackle all of those problems in a burst of decisive action. His maneuvering unfolded on the following eventful days:

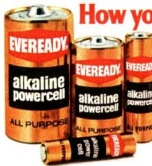
Oct. 16. Ford's unofficial group of advisers, who had been meeting periodically with him and a few senior White House aides for more than a year, held another of their straight-talking. "You've

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GEORGE & BARBARA BUSH IN PEKING

got problems, Jerry" sessions. Ford was told by Harlow, Laird, Griffin and others that he was not conveying a take-charge image in foreign policy. The conflicting signals on SALT and détente from Kissinger and Schlesinger were confusing the public.

Oct. 20. Schlesinger convened a press conference and scathingly denounced cuts of \$7.6 billion made by the House Appropriations Committee in the Pentagon's proposed \$97.8 billion budget for next year. He called the cuts "deep, savage and arbitrary." The outburst angered Ford, confirming his belief that Schlesinger did not understand congressional lobbying. It is one thing for a President to lambaste Congress; that's politics. But department heads are supposed to get along with the legislators who shape their budgets. Schlesinger, moreover, was seeking higher defense spending than even Ford wanted—and the committee chairman, Democratic Congressman George Mahon, was a close friend of Ford's.

That same day, Ford's 1976 campaign advisers, including Republican Senators Hugh Scott and Robert Dole and Ohio Political Pro Ray Bliss, met just after David Packard resigned as finance chairman of the President's election campaign. The disarray in the campaign worried them, and they sent word to the White House that Ford must start acting more "presidential."

Oct. 25. By now Ford had decided to move on all of this advice. Apparently consulting no one—with the possible

major exception of his chief of staff, Rumsfeld—Ford had sketched out the shifts. Kissinger would have to give up his NSC post, which would be filled by his NSC deputy, Brent Scowcroft; Schlesinger would be replaced at Defense by Rumsfeld; Colby would lose his CIA job, giving way to George Bush. Ford apparently told no one when he planned to announce the new appointments.

The President summoned Kissinger, who had just returned from his trip to China, and Rumsfeld to the Oval Office. The two wary antagonists sat on a yellow sofa by the fireplace, facing the President. "I want to talk to you two about some thoughts I have," Ford began gently. He looked at Rumsfeld, told him that he wanted him to take Schlesinger's job. Rumsfeld, who told intimates later that the offer surprised him, said

Oct. 28. At his regular weekly meeting with Ford in the Oval Office, Vice President Rockefeller raised the sensitive issue of his future. He told Ford that he wanted to drop off the 1976 ticket and thus remove himself as a political issue. Undoubtedly relieved, Ford made no attempt to dissuade Rocky. The Vice President said he would submit a letter making his intention public, although the timing was not decided.

Ford's intention, however, was to have Rockefeller announce his withdrawal first and to reveal the other changes later. That would not only separate the political and staff issues but give conservatives a reason to be so pleased with Rocky's demise that the Schlesinger dismissal might seem only a sop to the party's moderates and liberals.

Nov. 1. At 8:20 on a Saturday morning, the red and white lights outside Schlesinger's Pentagon office were aglow. White meant he was in; red meant he had visitors (green indicates he is on the phone to the White House). His budget aides were with him, organ-



ELLIOT RICHARDSON OUTSIDE U.S. EMBASSY IN LONDON'S GROSVENOR SQUARE

Returning to the action, even in a fading Administration.

he needed time to consider such a big assignment.

Addressing Kissinger, Ford said that he must leave the NSC position. Kissinger too expressed surprise but, when told that Scowcroft would succeed him, raised no objection. The President only tentatively raised his idea of replacing Colby with Bush.

Oct. 26. Ford golfed with Congressman Mahon, who made no mention of Schlesinger's attack on the budget reductions. Mahon had defended the cuts in answer to Schlesinger, and the Secretary had called him later to explain that he had meant no personal criticism. Mahon seemed to brush off the incident.

nizing arguments against the Defense Department taking as big a share of Ford's promised \$28 billion expense reductions as the President wanted. At 9:45, the green light flashed; Schlesinger had called Ford to ask if he could explain some of the dangers of drastic cuts. Ford agreed.

At 11:30 Schlesinger met Ford and some of the President's top budget officials at the White House. The Defense Secretary was discouraged to find that Ford's men were insisting on sharp cuts by the Pentagon. As the talks continued, Schlesinger turned testy. He also brought up another matter: one of his aides, Robert Ellsworth, wanted to quit

THE NATION

as head of the Pentagon's International Security Affairs Agency because he felt the State Department was ignoring his advice. Schlesinger suggested making Ellsworth a Deputy Secretary of Defense, which would place him on an equal, No. 2 ranking with the Pentagon's William Clements. Ford, who had already offered Ellsworth the presidency of the Export-Import Bank, was non-committal. Although the cool meeting lasted for 90 minutes, Ford gave no hint that he planned to fire Schlesinger.

By Saturday afternoon, both the White House and the Pentagon started getting press inquiries about rumors of high-level shifts. *Newsweek* began inquiring about the possibility that Kissinger was losing his NSC position. Quite truthfully, Press Secretary Ron Nessen turned back initial inquiries with the comment, "I haven't heard about that." Schlesinger relayed through spokesmen his belief that no plan was afoot to scuttle him, since he had just spent time with the President and the topic did not arise.

The rumors messed up Ford's announcement plans. By Saturday night the inquiries were so persistent that Ford decided he must inform Schlesinger and Colby that they were through. "It was the humane thing to do," a top White House aide later explained. Presidential Counsellor John Marsh called Schlesinger to ask him to meet with Ford the next morning, without explaining why. He also left a similar message for Colby.

Nov. 2. As Colby sat down with Ford promptly at 8 a.m., the President tried to be friendly. He conceded that he was moving abruptly in asking Colby to step down so quickly and implied that he realized this was going back on his earlier promise to let Colby retire with dignity and honor after the inquisitorial ordeal of investigations was over. He wanted to act now, Ford explained, as part of a reorganization of his entire national security team. Colby was offered the NATO ambassadorship, but declined. A professional to the end, the CIA director made no attempt to change Ford's mind. As Colby left, he saw Schlesinger waiting to enter the Oval Office. After explaining that Ford had just fired him, Colby said with a sympathetic smile: "Good luck, Jim."

The meeting between Ford and Schlesinger was not acrimonious, but both men were uncomfortable. Ford said he needed his own team, that he had to end the public feud between Schlesinger and Kissinger. He kept referring to Schlesinger's "resignation." Schlesinger was irritated by the repetition of the word. "I haven't resigned, sir, you are firing me," he corrected the President.

Ford told Schlesinger that he wanted Rumsfeld to replace him but that Rumsfeld had not yet agreed. Schlesinger was offered the presidency of the Export-Import Bank and, alternatively, the ambassadorship to NATO. He turned down both and left after 30 minutes—stunned. (Learning later that his job had been offered to others, NATO Ambassador David Bruce, 77, a distinguished career diplomat who has no plans to retire, was outraged.)

At Schlesinger's home in Arlington, Va., a post-firing wake turned into an impromptu party. Army Secretary Martin Hoffmann—who was a Princeton roommate of his new boss, Rumsfeld—dropped by. So did Colby and his wife, who seemed radiant at the prospect that her husband would soon be

At his office in London, Richardson stopped editing some proofs for a book on the responsiveness of government to the people that he hopes will be published this spring and took the ten-minute call. Ford ran through his list of proposed changes and said that Commerce Secretary Rogers Morton wanted to leave his job at year's end. Would Richardson be interested in that position? Another interim possibility was offered. (Richardson has not said what it was, but Administration sources suggested that he recently was sounded out for the CIA post.) Ford wanted Richardson to return to offset any distress among Republican moderates over Rocky's removal from consideration and to enhance another vice-presidential prospect.

Richardson asked for time to consider. He returned to his embassy res-

ONE BASSET—SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPERS



"Rocky, I'm glad you decided to leave on your own."

out of the harsh spotlight. General Vernon Walters, deputy director of the CIA, arrived with a box of chocolates and a battery-operated car for the youngest of Schlesinger's eight children. Schlesinger's wife Rachel cooked a 22-lb. turkey. Before carving it, Schlesinger asked: "Where do I apply for food stamps?" Later, as Colby left, Schlesinger clapped him on the back and said: "Who would ever have thought that Dick Helms would survive the both of us?" (It was under Helms, rather than either Schlesinger or Colby, that the CIA committed many of its much-criticized transgressions; Helms remains Ambassador to Iran.)

At the White House the President concluded his painful morning chores and flew off as scheduled to resume his meetings with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Jacksonville. But he had other unfinished business as well. He put in a call on the presidential scrambler telephone to Elliot Richardson, U.S. Ambassador to Britain.

idence in Regent's Park and talked to his wife Anne. Somewhat reluctant to move again and give up her activity with two British singing groups (including a Bach choir), she nevertheless was willing. Richardson tapped longtime associates by telephone. One warned that Ford was unlikely to win another term, so why should Richardson take up a lackluster post like Commerce in a failing Administration? Others advised that Richardson should accept the job to get back into the thick of the political action in Washington. Richardson decided to do so.

By Sunday afternoon, Rockefeller had prepared his letter renouncing a place on the 1976 ticket. He called Ford in Jacksonville to find out when to deliver it. Ford suggested that it be released at 3 p.m. the next day. Later on Sunday Ford became convinced that the rumors of the shifts, particularly the firing of Schlesinger, could not be contained. The President recognized that his plan for Rocky's announcement to precede the

news of the Schlesinger-Colby firings was lost. To make the best of the matter, he decided to call a televised press conference for Monday night.

Nov. 3. Monday-morning headlines blared the Schlesinger and Colby firings. When Rockefeller reached his office at 10 a.m., an urgent message from the White House asked him to rush his letter over earlier than planned—by 10:30 a.m. The surprising Rockefeller withdrawal was immediately announced to reporters. By the time Ford went on TV at 7:30 p.m. E.S.T., the only real news

was the substitution of Richardson for Morton.

Ford insisted that he had executed the shake-up on his own. State Department sources agreed that Kissinger, for one, had argued for nearly a week against the Schlesinger dismissal. Claimed another Cabinet officer about Kissinger: "Hell, he'd beaten Schlesinger on the substantive issues, and he still respected his intellect. But he can barely talk with Rumsfeld, and now Rumsfeld is in Defense. Henry hasn't gained anything."

Yet there were solid doubts in Washington last week over whether Ford had acted alone in the not very astute scheme. The suspicions centered on Rumsfeld. His professions of surprise and reluctance seemed a bit overdone. When a visitor asked Kissinger whether Rumsfeld really had seriously hesitated about wanting the Pentagon post, the Secretary of State snapped: "Yes, and Richard Nixon didn't want to be President." It seemed obvious that last week's sensations have not ended the White House intrigues.

A Grace Note from Rocky

Nothing so became Nelson Rockefeller in the vice presidency of the U.S. as his renunciation of it. In a week of tawdry infighting and ugly speculation, he struck one of the few grace notes.

No one ever went to more trouble than Rockefeller to attain an office for which he was, if anything, overqualified. He was subjected to relentless, often brutal questioning by his congressional investigators. Yet after less than a year in office he announced last week that "it's just not worth it" to remain on the ticket. He was candid about the reasons for his decision. "I came down to Washington to serve the country I love and to help in solving the problems which we face. I did not come down to get caught up in party squabbles. I came here to help the President, not to complicate his life."

Rocky did not arrive in Washington with exaggerated expectations. Aware of how precarious the vice presidency could be, he tried to head off criticism by making himself close to invisible. He called himself a "staff man, an assistant to the President." He deferred to the President, sang his praises and never took public issue with him. Even so, his very presence was upsetting to the lesser men around him. Says a Rockefeller associate: "The White House staff was sitting there, like tigers at the gate, waiting for him to make his move, ready to jump him."

He remained unacceptable to the G.O.P.'s hard-core right wing, which had never forgiven him for his opposition to Barry Goldwater in 1964. Nothing Rocky did could assuage them. When Howard ("Bo") Callaway, a Georgia conservative, was named Ford's campaign chairman, he went out of his way to say that Rocky was Ford's "No. 1 problem" in winning the nomination. In an effort to pacify his enemies, Rocky went South to

exchange compliments with George Wallace, but the trip riled liberals without changing the minds of many conservatives. A September Harris poll showed that only 34% of the American public wanted Rocky as Vice President on the 1976 ticket. Noted an exasperated Rocky supporter in the White House: "Whatever he's doing out there, it's not working."

Rockefeller finally stopped being a team player when he broke with the President over New York City. The split was not acrimonious. When Rocky was quoted as saying that default would be a "catastrophe," the President mildly reprimanded him but did not order him to stop speaking out. White House aides, on the other hand, were more emphatic. Donald Rumsfeld, said a Rocky sym-

pathizer, was "jumping up and down." Already miffed because the President had backed Rocky's plan for a \$100 billion energy independence authority, Treasury Secretary William Simon joined the sniping. As the pressures mounted, Rocky decided to take himself out of the race. When he revealed his intentions to the President two weeks ago, Ford did not try to dissuade him. In fact, a Rockefeller source claims, Ford accepted with unseemly alacrity.

Freed from the endless political bickering, Rocky hopes to be able to devote his remaining months as Vice President to the urgent national problems that have always concerned him. But stripped of his political power, he may find that he lacks clout in other areas as well. Instead of being attacked, he may be ignored—the ultimate humiliation for such a lifelong political activist. Richard Cheney, Rumsfeld's successor as White House Chief of Staff, is a Rumsfeld man. When a White House

staffer was recently asked a question about the Vice President, he replied "Who?" and then chuckled malevolently.

Yet Rocky is not without political resources. Still the nation's foremost Republican moderate, he refused to take himself out of the 1976 presidential race when he was questioned at his press conference. If Ronald Reagan upsets Ford in the early primaries, and forces him out of the running, it is conceivable that Rocky would enter the race. In part, Rockefeller dropped off the ticket because he did not want to continue to feed ammunition to the Republican right—what he calls "a minority of a minority." He feels that nothing less than the salvation of the Republican Party is at stake. He said at his press conference, "I think the Republican Party is only going to be an effective party if it reflects the best interests of the American people, and traditionally that is in the center. That is where our country has always been. That is where the Republican Party has won."

THE VICE PRESIDENT NEAR HIS VACATION HOME IN MAINE



Détente: H.K. v. J.S.

Henry Kissinger and James Schlesinger, the two most brilliant members of Gerald Ford's Cabinet, have disagreed sharply and frequently on the meaning and objectives of détente. What are their differences? Briefly put, Kissinger thinks any nuclear exchange between the superpowers would be disastrous, involving "colossal, indeed catastrophic damage." Schlesinger is just as appalled at the prospect of such an exchange, but he argues that a limited war with tactical nuclear weapons must be seriously considered and planned for. "What we need," he has said, "is a series of measured responses to aggression that bear some relation to the provocation [and] have prospects of terminating hostilities before general nuclear war breaks out."

Schlesinger watched Moscow's rising defense expenditures with concern, counting every new missile and tank and worrying that the military balance was gradually shifting in the Soviets' favor. He feared that the perception of military strength was as important as the strength itself. Accordingly, if the Russians believed themselves to be superior to the U.S., whether in fact they were or not, they would be tempted to test American resolve. In numerous speeches, he maintained that in constant dollars U.S. defense expenditures have dropped 20% since 1964, while Soviet expenditures have increased by about 40% during the same period.

Kissinger, by contrast, feels numbers alone do not tell the story. The U.S., he says, has the power to destroy the Soviet Union several times over—and vice versa; adding to the number of American missiles would be futile. An enemy can be killed only once, his reasoning goes. He believes the U.S. needs only a "sufficiency" of arms to deter the Soviets, not a superiority, and that sufficiency already exists.

The negotiations with the Russians over the second phase of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT II) have sharpened the dispute. The talks have been at a standstill since July, when Kissinger made a series of new proposals to Moscow. The Russians did not reply until two weeks ago, and when they did, they simply passed over the new proposals.

In SALT I, signed in 1972, the U.S. allowed the Soviets numerical superiority in ballistic missile launchers (2,358 v. 1,710 for the U.S.). This advantage,

Washington reasoned, was balanced by three factors: the greater accuracy of the U.S. missiles; a big American lead in the development of MIRVs—clusters of missiles independently aimed from a big rocket as it nears target; and U.S. bombers and bases near the U.S.S.R. But, Schlesinger's Pentagon now complains, the Soviets perfected their MIRV technology sooner than anticipated, giving them an even greater potential superiority in numbers. The Russian missiles have greater throw-weights—that is, they can carry more and bigger warheads—the Pentagon also points out; thus even if the number of launchers was equal, the So-

DRAWING BY RICHTER © 1974 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.



"Détente"

viets would have a strategic edge. In response, the U.S. military is now promoting development of the "cruise missile," a long-range, jet-propelled, guided bomb that can be launched from either a bomber, a ship or a submarine. Capable of flying close to the earth and therefore below enemy radar, the missile has a range of 1,500 miles and is extraordinarily accurate. The Pentagon says that since the cruise missile flies through the atmosphere, it should not be counted with ICBMs, which travel through space, in the SALT II ceiling. The Russians insist that it should be included.

At the same time, the Russians argue that their new Backfire bomber should be excluded from SALT II because it has only a limited range (5,500 to 6,000

miles). The Pentagon counters that air-to-air refueling could send it to the U.S. and back. The U.S.'s July proposal to the Soviets suggested a compromise that would limit both Backfires and cruise missiles. Reflecting his distrust of Moscow, Schlesinger argues, however, that the Soviets will eventually perfect cruise missiles of their own to match ours. Once they do, he says, they will unquestionably cheat in declaring how many of the easily concealed weapons are in their armory. When the whole issue of arms negotiations was raised at a recent National Security Council meeting, Kissinger and Schlesinger engaged in what one on-the-scene observer described as the most heated exchange in the Security Council in memory.

It is sometimes said that Schlesinger's profound distrust of détente stems from a fundamental pessimism about human nature, or at least about the American people. Schlesinger argues that the opposite is more nearly true. He is, he says, basically optimistic about the strength of the U.S. and the capacity of its people to respond to challenge despite a temporary lack of confidence in the wake of Watergate and Viet Nam. Thus it is unnecessary to make disadvantageous deals with the Soviet Union simply for the sake of buying time, since the U.S. will eventually snap out of its despondent mood anyway.

It is Kissinger who is the pessimist. Schlesinger maintains, because the Secretary of State fears the West may generally be in decline and not just temporarily weakened by the events of the past decade. Indeed, Kissinger has argued that détente is necessary largely because Congress and the people will simply not stomach the effort and sacrifice necessary for confrontational policies and what Schlesinger would call a strong defense posture and a tougher bargaining stance.

In the main, Kissinger believes, détente has served the U.S. well. The U.S., he feels, has not given up anything vital to the Russians. Washington, his argument goes, has extracted from the Kremlin all that can reasonably be expected as a result of détente. More pressure might cause Moscow to reject détente entirely, just as it rejected a Soviet-American trade agreement earlier this year, when Congress insisted, as part of the package, that more Soviet Jews be allowed to emigrate. Indeed, Kissinger concludes, détente may have been oversold in the U.S. It is not a panacea for peace. It is instead a means by which two mutually hostile societies can compete, co-exist and occasionally resolve their differences.

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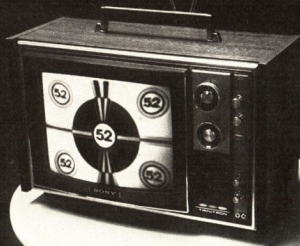
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FORMER CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN ADDRESSING STUDENTS LAST MONTH AT YALE POLITICAL UNION

REPUBLICANS

Reagan: 'I Am Not Appeased'

If the old movie star was acting again, it was a persuasive performance. Ronald Reagan sounded angry and dismayed by last week's events, and yet he could only feel helped by President Ford's clumsy handling of the Cabinet shake-ups and his diminished credibility. A Gallup poll of 339 Republicans taken two weeks before last week's firing showed Ford ahead of Reagan, 58% to 36%, but an NBC poll of 245 Republicans taken just after the shifts put Reagan out front, 44% to 43%.

Reagan is expected to announce his candidacy in Washington on Nov. 20. Without Nelson Rockefeller to kick around any more, Reagan has lost a major selling point. But he scarcely seemed deterred, saying of Rocky's dropping out: "I am not appeased." Though Ford is in command of most of the Republican Party apparatus, Reagan has undeniable grass-roots appeal. Admits one of the President's campaign chiefs: "Jerry doesn't excite Republican conservatives, and they're the ones who will work day and night. Reagan can excite them."

The early primaries in New Hampshire and Florida, where G.O.P. conservatives are heavily concentrated, are promising terrain for Reagan. If he wins or does well, he will have a shot at the nomination, or at least the No. 2 spot on the ticket.

In an interview last week with TIME's national political correspondent Robert Ajemian, Reagan gave his views on the White House shifts and how he thinks they will affect his future:

Q. Has Henry Kissinger lost some of his authority in the President's shuffles?

A. No, I don't believe there's been any change at all. His former deputy [Brent

Scowcroft] has moved over to the National Security Council, and to me that means Kissinger is still in charge of both jobs. With Nixon gone, I worry about Kissinger. He needed someone like Nixon to keep him on that tough track. He has to have someone around who can keep him from giving away the store.

Q. What is your reaction to the President's removal of Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger?

A. He was a firm voice in maintaining a proper defense. We had a good man and suddenly he's out. No warning, no explanation, just plain dismissed. If the reason is that the President wants a different approach to defense, I don't like it. It disturbs me.

Q. Where do these changes leave you on the issue of détente?

A. I'm against détente as a one-way street. It annoys me the way we tiptoe around. We're so self-conscious about our own strength. I'm for decreasing confrontation but not with us doing all the leaning over backward.

Q. How do you assess Donald Rumsfeld as the new Defense Secretary?

A. Let's see where Rumsfeld stands. I still don't know enough about his philosophy. If he's put there to get us melting down our swords, then it's bad. We'll get a quick reading from Rumsfeld's position on the new defense budget.

Q. How do you judge the investigations of the CIA and Ford's appointment of George Bush, a former party chairman, as head of the agency?

A. I'm against the investigations' being made so public. The CIA has made mis-

takes over 28 years, but we shouldn't be tearing the agency apart. On George Bush, I'm not convinced you have to have a spy in that job, a master of espionage. Common sense is what's needed. I've got a good opinion of Bush.

Q. How do you interpret the withdrawal of Vice President Rockefeller?

A. I think he was treated shabbily by the President's campaign committee. To me his withdrawal cuts two ways. It removes a problem for the President in certain areas. But at the same time Rockefeller had been able to keep the liberal Republicans happy while Ford moved to the right.

Q. With the withdrawal of Rockefeller, Barry Goldwater has said that you should reassess your position. Are you?

A. No, and Barry has never suggested to me in any way that I shouldn't run. He knows I wouldn't campaign in a divisive way.

Q. How do you rate President Ford's leadership and ability to advance his programs?

A. I don't think he's been very successful. You have to go past the Congress and sell the public. Maybe the President was a Congressman too long.

Q. Will Rockefeller's withdrawal help Ford get nominated?

A. It's going to help Ford line up certain party leaders who've used Rockefeller as an excuse to stay neutral. But I don't think party leadership is so important this year. Look at all these primaries. What's going to happen if someone beats an incumbent President in these primaries? What are the voters going to think? The President has all the machinery, but I'd be happy with the grass roots. If I decide to run, maybe there's a little David and Goliath to this thing.

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'These Are My Guys'

President Ford's abrupt decision to rejuggle his Administration thrust four men into top jobs that may well lead them to even bigger jumps in the future. The four:

Rumsfeld: Eyes and Ears

Relaxing aboard the *Spirit of 76* one night in November 1970, President Richard Nixon turned to Donald Rumsfeld, a White House counsellor, and said: "Rummy, one day you're going to be making these decisions." Rumsfeld began to demur. "No," insisted Nixon, "one day you're going to be President."

The thought—and the hope—had often occurred to Rumsfeld, 43, an extraordinarily ambitious and dedicated man who has always looked ahead to the next job up the line, even while working as the chief of Jerry Ford's White House staff. In that position he serves as the President's eyes and ears, responsible for scheduling Ford's time, determining in large part what he needs and whom he sees as well as executing his orders. Since Ford, unlike Nixon, wants to be accessible to his top advisers, Rumsfeld neither stands in their way nor seeks to dominate policy meetings. He makes sure each adviser has his say and that dissenting opinions are brought into the open. Rumsfeld has generally kept his thoughts on major issues to himself—and the President. Speaking of Ford, he says: "There's nothing I wouldn't tell him."

Stand-Up Desk. An exuberant, energetic man with boyish good looks that are enhanced by aviator-type glasses, Rumsfeld prowls restlessly around his large corner office—he calls it "the celophane box"—in a corner of the White House's West Wing, just a few quick paces from the Oval Office. He works at a stand-up desk, whisking through the papers that flow into the White House, then composing memos on a Dictaphone to be transcribed by one of his two secretaries.

His voice is raspy and his talk so crisp that it borders on brusqueness. He has little patience with incompetence. When a subordinate once tarried too long over an explanation, Rumsfeld snapped: "Come back when you have something to say." He projects an air of aloofness; he also creates the impression that he is too clever by half, that he coolly evaluates everyone he sees. "Each time you meet him, it's for the first time," says a White House aide. Yet Rumsfeld's intense, controlled style is a nice counterbalance to Ford's fondness for relaxed good fellowship. The two men get along very well.

Son of a Chicago real estate man, Rumsfeld attended the New Trier High School in Winnetka, Ill., gaining renown as a 150-lb. state wrestling champion.

He won a scholarship to Princeton, married his high school sweetheart Joyce Pierson, and from 1954 to 1957 was a Navy pilot. Leaving the service as a lieutenant (j.g.), he became a congressional aide—and struck up a friendship with Michigan Representative Jerry Ford. In 1962 Rumsfeld began his own political career by winning the safe Republican congressional seat on Chicago's wealthy North Shore. He was 30.

"Rumsfeld was brash and inexperienced when he came here," recalls a Democratic colleague. "But he immediately started growing, and he never stopped. He was a first-rate Congressman." In 1965 Rumsfeld helped lead the "young Turks" who deposed Indiana's

Since becoming chief of the White House staff shortly after Ford rose to the presidency, Rumsfeld has been in the middle of some bitter feuds. He won a power struggle against Robert Hartmann, Ford's longtime top aide and political adviser; Hartmann is now confined largely to speechwriting. Rumsfeld also clashed with Vice President Rockefeller over staff assignments, and Rocky's men suspect that he induced Campaign Chief Howard Callaway to call the Vice President a liability to the ticket for 1976. In addition, Rumsfeld has long been uneasily at odds with Henry Kissinger, feeling that he was taking credit—at the expense of Ford—for U.S. foreign policy decisions. Some of Rumsfeld's critics refer to him as Ford's "crown prince."

When he can get away from the White House, Rumsfeld, a devoted fam-

HARRY BENSON



KISSINGER & RUMSFELD POKING FUN IN THE WHITE HOUSE IN LESS TENSE DAYS (1974)

To some of his critics, Rummy is the "crown prince."

Charles Halleck as House Minority Leader. In his place they installed Ford. Says a Democratic Congressman hyperbolically: "Rumsfeld held the dagger that Ford plunged into Halleck's back."

Rumsfeld campaigned extensively for Nixon in 1968 and a year later resigned from Congress at the President's request to become head of the Office of Economic Opportunity. His assignment was to dismantle the organization and its "Great Society" programs, but before he could, Nixon made him a top White House aide in 1970. Three years later the President named Rumsfeld U.S. Ambassador to NATO, where he worked with characteristic vigor, although his chores were largely routine and ceremonial.

ily man, spends almost all his time with his wife and their children—Valerie, 19, Marcy, 15, and Nicholas, 8. Ever since Mrs. Rumsfeld complained that he was dropping \$100 a month in the White House mess, Rumsfeld has been lunching on a brown-bagged sandwich brought from home. He has no substantial personal wealth, and Mrs. Rumsfeld works in a Georgetown dress shop, the Dorcas Hardin shop, to help with family finances. One advantage of the new Cabinet post is that he will get a raise, from \$42,500 to \$60,000 a year.

The Pentagon's top officers are waiting with some anxiety for Rumsfeld to take on his sixth Administration job in six years. He has not yet shown the necessary breadth of intellect to handle an

THE NATION

assignment as complex and demanding as running the nation's defenses. Even his admirers tend to describe him in terms of his political acumen and talent for infighting, only after they pause for breath do they add that he is also smart and able.

Rumsfeld may not be in the Pentagon long. He could end up running with Jerry Ford in 1976 (see page 30). No matter how the election turns out, Rumsfeld still has plenty of time to make Nixon's prediction come true. By the time the 1980 election rolls around, he will be only 48.

Bush: Political Animal

George Herbert Walker Bush, 51, comes freighted with a slightly odd set of qualifications to take over the supposedly apolitical Central Intelligence Agency—most notably, a rather active political ambition. A tall, athletic and charming former Congressman, Bush is thought to have been Gerald Ford's runner-up choice to fill the vice presidency last year. His name is now being mentioned again as a possible Ford running mate next year.

The son of Prescott Bush, a former Republican Senator from Connecticut, George Bush received an impeccable Eastern education at Phillips Academy, Andover, and then at Yale, where he earned a Phi Beta Kappa key and a degree in economics in 1948. Wishing to escape the shadow of his father's success, he migrated to Texas, co-founded the Zapata Petroleum Corp. in 1953 and accumulated a fortune. In 1964, Bush got his baptism in the Texas political wars when he was defeated in a race for the Senate by liberal Democrat Ralph Yarborough. Lowering his sights, Bush was elected to two terms in the House from his home district in Houston. He again sought a Senate seat in 1970, and again was beaten—this time by Democrat Lloyd Bentsen. As a consolation prize, Richard Nixon appointed Bush Ambassador to the United Nations, where his affability gained him widespread popularity.

Informal Manner. In 1972, Nixon summoned Bush from the U.N. to assume the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee. As the Watergate scandal engulfed Nixon, Bush worked hard to reduce the damage to the party. His efforts won him the friendship of Gerald Ford, who in 1974 named Bush chief of the U.S. liaison office in Peking. In that lonely outpost, Bush and his wife Barbara—their five children remained in the U.S.—have with their informal manner made friends among the Chinese. They take bicycle tours around the city, play tennis at the international tennis club, and give hamburger and hot-dog parties on the grounds of the American compound. When the message arrived from Gerald Ford asking him to take over the CIA, Bush was out bicycling.



NATIONAL SECURITY AIDE SCOWCROFT

Scowcroft: Able General

Brent Scowcroft, 50, used to snatch a few hours' sleep in Henry Kissinger's White House office during his frequent dusk-to-dawn stints keeping watch over international crises. Having been named to replace Kissinger as head of the National Security Council, Scowcroft will now be able to work there in the daytime too. A slightly built, balding scholar, Scowcroft may well be the ablest member of Ford's White House staff. Now an Air Force lieutenant general, he will resign his commission when he takes over his new job. He became Kissinger's NSC deputy in 1973 shortly after his predecessor, General Alexander Haig, was named Army Vice Chief of Staff. Since then Scowcroft has labored up to 16 hours a day in a cluttered cubicle adjoining Kissinger's spacious West Wing office. One of his first duties each day was normally to give the President a 15-min. briefing at 7:40 a.m. on the latest intelligence about political and military activities abroad.

Although some critics, including a number of top military men, dismiss him as "a good paper shuffler" and as Kissinger's errand boy within the White House, Scowcroft is hardly an automaton. He is an intellectual soldier with a superb background in international relations. A West Point graduate, Scowcroft won a master's degree and a Ph.D. in his specialty at Columbia University, also studied at Lafayette, Georgetown's School of Languages and Linguistics, the Armed Forces Staff College and the National War College. Fluent in Russian and Serbian, Scowcroft taught Russian

history at West Point during the '50s and later served as assistant air attaché at the American embassy in Belgrade. Scowcroft and his wife Marian now live with their daughter Karen, 17, in Bethesda, Md.

A former White House colleague humorously describes Scowcroft as having "a terrible weakness—he's a professional staff man who has devoted his life to picking up debris. He is trained to serve totally and unswervingly the person to whom he is assigned." Although his loyalty now focuses on Ford, it is difficult to imagine Scowcroft suddenly challenging Kissinger's foreign policy after having worked so closely with him for 2½ years. The sudden emergence from obscurity may be distasteful to the unassuming Scowcroft, who, as Kissinger's deputy, never even granted an on-the-record interview to newsmen. In his new job he will probably have to overcome that reticence.

Cheney: Loyal Deputy

Richard Bruce Cheney, 34, never got around to writing his doctoral dissertation in political science. Now that he has been named White House chief of staff, he should be able to collect enough material for several Ph.D. theses in no time at all. As one Ford supporter said of last week's shake-up: "The only regret I have is that it leaves the White House in complete disarray. Dick Cheney has got a big job ahead of him." Perhaps the most complicated task will be to harness the competing egos and infighting that characterize Ford's staff.

WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF CHENEY



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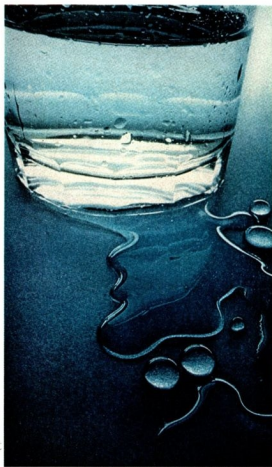
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General Electric is probing to find future sources of electricity. We're also studying ways to harness the energy of the sun, the wind and the tides.

Some of these ideas are more practical than others. And probably none of them will be in wide use within this century. But with our tremendous need for electricity and the growing scarcity of some fuels, we have to consider every possibility.

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And continue to look for new ways to make electricity.

But perhaps, someday, the answer to our electricity needs will be crystal-clear.

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For much of his career, Cheney has served as a deputy to his departing boss, Donald Rumsfeld—at the Office of Economic Opportunity, in Nixon's White House and at the Cost of Living Council. The partnership was temporarily dissolved when Rumsfeld was appointed U.S. Ambassador to NATO. Then, soon after Rumsfeld went home to organize Gerald Ford's staff in 1974, Cheney signed on as deputy assistant to the President.

Born in Lincoln, Neb., Cheney took bachelor's and master's degrees in political science at the University of Wy-

oming, then went to the University of Wisconsin for additional graduate work. Named a congressional fellow by the American Political Science Association, he moved to Washington in 1968 to work on the campaign of Wisconsin Congressman William Steiger.

Cheney is tight-lipped and intensely loyal, but in contrast to the frequently brusque Rumsfeld, he is outwardly relaxed on the job. His long hours and increased responsibilities are likely to leave Cheney little time to indulge his passion for summer mountain-climbing expeditions in Wyoming and Colorado

with his wife Lynne, to whom he was married in 1964. The Cheneyes live with their two daughters, aged six and nine, in Bethesda.

Because of Rumsfeld's policy of "interchangeability"—the practice of having deputies regularly fill in for their bosses—Cheney in the past year has spent almost as much time with the President at home and on the road as Rumsfeld has. Like Rumsfeld, Cheney will run Ford's White House staff and implement his decisions. But he is not expected to be a manipulator of policies and personalities as his old boss was.

THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDNEY

Why Kissinger Survives

For seven years Henry Kissinger has defied all the laws of political gravity. Employing his charms, his intellect and his considerable Machiavellian skills, he has survived every governmental crisis and triumph while playing a principal role in most of them. He thrives on palace intrigue. This helps drive his critics up the wall as they look at him now and realize that his long journey through the upper reaches of power is one of the most fascinating of our time.

"It is inevitable," he says about the accumulation of bitterness toward him in much of the press and in Congress. "When you live at this elevation of power for seven years, you gain many critics and very few permanent supporters. There have been no exceptions—Acheson, Dulles, Rusk." His relations with Ford remain as close and open as they have been—though Donald Rumsfeld, from his Pentagon post, is soon likely to be vying with Kissinger for Ford's time. Every day last week, while reporters were writing that he would no longer be able to spend so much time with Ford, he went to the White House for the morning briefing with the President. Yet his manner suggests that he is vaguely more distant from the Oval Office and his routine may change. He knows those 14 months ahead are, as he puts it, a "minefield."

"The new story around town is that Elliot Richardson is being brought back to take my place. If he is, I know nothing about it. But maybe some Sunday morning I'll be called to the White House and fired." Then he gives a low chuckle.

His refuge is the pursuit of peace and his concern for the national interest. What seems to hang in the balance right now is whether the U.S. will go back to the days of the cold war and bitter confrontation with the Soviet Union, or whether it can keep the new relationship alive. Henry Kissinger sometimes sees himself surrounded by a city full of nihilists who want to dismantle every advance toward some sensible tranquility.



HENRY KISSINGER—SIDNEY

If there is no accommodation with the Soviet Union now on arms, if no nexus for peaceful co-existence is established, he warns, then we may well slide back into the cold war mentality. "But it will not be like the '50s," says Kissinger. "If there is a confrontation with the Soviet Union and we mobilize and take a stand, it will be sustainable only if the people know that we did all we could to prevent it. We have a great opportunity now. The Soviet leaders are getting older and tired. We are going the only way left."

So, in his determined pursuit of a viable co-existence with the Soviets, Kissinger looks like a ruthless power grabber—or a clever manueverer. Maybe that is what he is or has to be.

Many of his friends have urged him to get out right now. They believe any man who stays around so long can only harvest more bitterness. That is one of the melancholy facts of public service. But Kissinger invokes his concern for the nation. Watching the man, one has the idea that Kissinger believes there is a miracle or two left in him, and he wants these 14 months to try to work the old magic. He has found a reservoir of enthusiasm in the Rotary halls of the midlands. The people in the farm areas want Russian markets for their grain, and common sense suggests that these come only with accommodation. And Kissinger still has some basic support in Congress. He has won a little yardage on Turkish military aid and in his battle to prevent Congressmen from looking into his office files.

Henry Kissinger is simply brighter and more adept at the art of human persuasion than any of his adversaries. His survival is rooted finally in the rightness of his goal, even if his methods sometimes assume the brutal nature of the arena in which he fights. His chief worry is that politics will turn the debate totally to personalities—his, mainly. Then he may have to leave before he wants to. But there he is, still armed with his sense of humor and a greater appreciation than almost anyone else around of what will really matter. "Two years from now," he says, "nobody will give a damn if I am up, down or sideways."

A Brand New Race for 2nd Place



THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL SWEEPSTAKES: A quadrennial long-distance obstacle course for ambitious politicians with a touch of masochism. **Purse:** \$65,600 annual salary; partially furnished mansion on Embassy Row in Washington, D.C.; presidency of the U.S. Senate; substantial perquisites. **Qualifications:** 35-year-olds and above; a natural-born citizen; proven endurance at giving and listening to speeches; ability to respond to the whip and obey sometimes demeaning commands. **Limitations:** Track may be shifted, entry fees forfeited, and a new field named pending outcome of big stakes races in New Hampshire, Florida, Wisconsin and California in early 1976. Post positions, names of entries and early-line odds:

1 DONALD RUMSFELD, 43, Defense Secretary-designate; 4-1.
Poised, efficient White House chief of staff and one of the shrewdest bureaucrats in the capital... Is comfortable with all factions of the G.O.P. and can continue to count on fullest support, confidence and trust from President Ford... Could be unenthusiastic about running here, since a good performance at Defense might give him a better post position for a later presidential race—something he plainly wants to enter some day.

2 HOWARD BAKER, 50, Senator from Tennessee; 5-1.
Marked as a comer during Watergate hearings but has done little since... A good compromise bet to woo the South and appease the liberals, and popular through the Middle West besides... Sturdy, vigorous, everybody's second choice... Biggest drawback: his nomination could cost the G.O.P. a precious Senate seat.

3 ELLIOT RICHARDSON, 55, Commerce Secretary-designate; 5-1.
An Eastern liberal who makes conservative bettors uneasy, but clearly a thoroughbred... Fast on any track, and he has been on many, with four Cabinet posts in the past five years... As Mr. Clean (or mostly clean) in Watergate, could offset some resentment of Ford's pardon of Nixon... Commerce spot poor training for the Veep Sweeps, but Ford could give him added responsibilities... Known to balk at the whip and for being aloof.

4 GEORGE BUSH, 51, CIA Chief-designate; 8-1.
Performed imaginatively on slippery track in Peking, now primed for domestic tracks... A favorite of Ford, who may have done him a disservice by slotting him into supposedly nonpartisan CIA post... Is likely to come under constant crossfire from Congress... His best-foot-forward performance as G.O.P. national chairman during Watergate period endeared him to party regulars, but his ill-disguised political ambition may repel even more irregulars.

5 RONALD REAGAN, 64, former California Governor; 10-1.
Could enter a different race altogether... The favorite of conservative handicappers, who view him as a dream No. 2 entry on a '76 ticket. Others see such a potentially dangerous, certain to push some liberal Republicans onto a Democratic track... Age a handicap.

6 WILLIAM BROCK, 44, Senator from Tennessee; 12-1.
Personable and articulate but not popular with G.O.P. liberals... Has laid careful party groundwork as former president of the Young Republicans (many members are now party regulars) and G.O.P. Senate campaign committee chairman during 1974 elections.

7 JOHN CONNALLY, 58, former Texas Governor; 15-1.
Former Democrat capable of adroit maneuvers in a crowded field... Was fully vindicated in a milk-fund bribery trial earlier this year... Admired by many Republicans for his fiscal savvy but seen by others as a maverick... Though his career seemed over a few months ago, he can now claim his acquittal makes him one of the few provably honest men in politics... Refuses the whip, would be hard to contain in a No. 2 spot... Old legs but great vigor still.

8 CHARLES MATHIAS, 53, Senator from Maryland; 25-1.
Could bring in liberal Republican money and votes but, as a recent public critic of Ford's move to the right, seems an unlikely choice... Might even announce his own candidacy for the presidential sweeps in order to bring Ford around... Highly respected by his Senate peers but would be anathema to the G.O.P. right.

9 CHARLES PERCY, 56, Illinois Senator; 25-1.
Once a contender for the presidency, would balance the ticket but may be too liberal to win G.O.P. right-wing support... One of the Senate's most visible... Clean-cut, forthright, but has trouble on muddy tracks, and this one could be very muddy.

10 ROBERT RAY, 47, Governor of Iowa; 30-1.
An outsider to the Washington track (which could amount to a plus) and virtually unknown nationally, but could be good dark-horse bet... A fiscal conservative but acceptable to both wings of the party. Impressive record as three-term Governor of Iowa.

11 DANIEL EVANS, 50, Governor of Washington; 30-1.
Three-term Governor in a Democratic state, he is a Western-style liberal, which somehow is more tolerable to G.O.P. right than an Eastern liberal... Has a reputation for being a problem solver... Well-liked by G.O.P. grass roots since keynoting 1968 party convention... Needs more national exposure, and neither his regional nor his ideological ticket balancing may be enough to make him an attractive bet.

12 EDWARD BROOKE, 56, Senator from Massachusetts; 50-1.
Biggest question is whether G.O.P. would be bold enough to enter a black in the race at all... Widely respected as an able legislator and a staunch party loyalist, he would be the betting favorite of many blacks... But his presence on the ticket would surely cost many white votes. May be seen as a better bet in a future race.

Also eligible (not in post-position order): Christopher ("Kit") Bond, 36, Governor of Missouri, whose smooth Kennedy style puts off G.O.P. regulars and who could use some seasoning. William Ruckelshaus, 43, lawyer for a chemical group, with a clean Watergate image and solid bureaucratic credentials to back him up. Melvin Laird, 53, senior counselor to *Reader's Digest*, a Wisconsin conservative who proved himself a shrewd infighter as a Congressman and Secretary of Defense but, much as he likes Ford, probably would refuse if offered the job. James Holshouser, 41, Governor of North Carolina, who is working feverishly for Ford's Southern coordinator but is virtually unknown outside his own region. **SCRATCHED:** Nelson Rockefeller, 67, the incumbent Vice President. Believed to be ticketed for retirement but may have one race left in him—and it will not be for the Veep Sweeps.



LEFT: KENTUCKY'S WINNING DEMOCRATS CARROLL & STOVALL; RIGHT: DEMOCRATS GANDY & FINCH AFTER MISSISSIPPI VICTORY

ELECTIONS

Tough Off-Year Voters Say No

Americans are in a skeptical, disgruntled mood—determined to cut back government spending, turning tough on law and order, unconvinced that women need more legal rights than they already have. In different locales and to different degrees, those were the main themes that emerged last week as voters went to the polls to take part in an off-year election that produced few surprises and no major power shifts.

Although President Ford said the results showed that the G.O.P. is "alive and well," Connecticut's Republican Senator Lowell Weicker, no loyalist, said more pessimistically that the party had "taken it on the chops again." The G.O.P. lost both gubernatorial races (Kentucky and Mississippi) and fared badly in a number of mayoralty duels. Ford did have one solid reason to take heart: the voters turned down \$5.87 billion of the \$6.33 billion in bond proposals that were on ballots across the nation. The White House interpreted the results as clear evidence that Americans were taking heed of the President's warning—and key campaign issue—that big spending could be as disastrous for their states and localities as it already has been for New York City. The election results:

The Statehouses

Until Kentucky's schools opened this fall, Democratic Governor Julian Carroll, 44, seemed a clear favorite to be returned to the statehouse. A down-home lawyer from West Paducah, the silver-haired Carroll is a tireless campaigner and an evangelist orator who sounds, in the words of one state politician, "like Gomer Pyle at the Second Coming." Then, under federal court or-

der, the yellow school buses began to integrate schools in Louisville and the rest of Jefferson County, and suddenly Carroll was sharply challenged by Republican Robert E. Gable, 41, a coal and lumber millionaire.

Like Gable, Carroll proclaimed that he was against forced busing, but the Governor did maintain that the court's decree had to be obeyed. That stand appeared to hurt Carroll when resentment against integration rose to such a pitch that mobs burned buses on Sept. 5. On election eve, police had to use tear gas to disperse another mob of 3,500 demonstrators who were throwing bricks and bottles and chanting "Get the buses!" As it turned out, the resulting backlash against the violence helped the Governor, who also closed fast with an aggressive and well-financed campaign. Carroll not only took 63% of the vote but won by a record margin of nearly 192,290 votes.

In Mississippi, where only 10% of the voters are Republicans and the G.O.P. has not won a gubernatorial contest since 1873, Democrat Cliff Finch, 48, came on with the glad hand and confident smile of a winner (TIME, Nov. 3). Although he earned \$150,000 last year as a lawyer, Finch campaigned as the "workingman's candidate," toting around a lunch pail and spending one day each week laboring on such blue-collar jobs as driving bulldozers and repairing automobiles.

In contrast, G.O.P. Candidate Gil Carmichael, 48, a millionaire auto dealer, ran an issue-oriented campaign, urging the reform of the state's creaking constitution (encumbered with 65 amendments) and making education mandatory through the eighth grade (children can now quit school whenever

they want to). In conservative Mississippi, Carmichael even advocated reducing penalties for the use of marijuana and requiring the licensing of handguns. In a stunning showing, Carmichael carried all of the urban areas. But the countryside and piney woods belonged to Finch, who won a surprisingly narrow victory with only 52% of the vote. Vowing to fight on for his ideas, Carmichael said: "We reached for a miracle and missed it by just an inch."

Together with Edwin Edwards' reelection to the Louisiana governorship ten days ago, the Finch and Carroll victories maintain the almost embarrassing edge that the Democrats have over the G.O.P. in the nation's statehouses, 36 to 13, with one independent (Maine's James B. Longley). Both Finch and Carroll won with female running mates. Evelyn Gandy, 53, Mississippi's insurance commissioner, was elected Lieutenant Governor. Thelma Stovall, 56, a three-term secretary of state, won the same office in Kentucky. When they take office, Gandy and Stovall, who both favor the Equal Rights Amendment, will give the U.S. a current total of three women Lieutenant Governors. The other: New York's Mary Anne Krupsak, 43, who won in 1974.

The City Halls

After a tumultuous season of busing crises and financial crunches, 1975 looked like a tough year for incumbent mayors. Still most managed to hang on, although no clear pattern emerged.

In Boston, Democratic Mayor Kevin H. White, 46, highly regarded in the '60s as one of the nation's bright young urban leaders, won a third term but lost ground in his bid for a vice-presidential nomination—or better—because his victory was so narrow. Running against little-known State Senator Joseph F. Timilty, 36, also a Democrat, White squeaked through by a scant 5% mar-

THE NATION



BOSTON'S MAYOR KEVIN WHITE



gin. Although he outspent Timilty by more than 2 to 1, he was hard-pressed by his opponent on alleged campaign contribution abuses. The mayor was also hurt by his identification with the city's busing turmoil, although both candidates claimed they would uphold court orders even though they opposed busing. White's emphasis on his own long-time experience in government and his support of the neighborhoods helped him retain black and Italian support, but he slipped a bit among his traditional liberal constituency in Back Bay and Beacon Hill because of accusations of dishonest fund raising. Timilty, a handsome ex-Marine with little formal education, was unable to overcome White's efficient organization, even though he had the backing of many antibusing working-class whites. Meanwhile, sentiment against busing swept into office all-white, antibusing majorities on the

JAMES A. HATCH



CLEVELAND'S MAYOR RALPH PERK
Busing crises and financial crunches.

city council and the school committee.

Cleveland's Mayor Ralph J. Perk, 61, had an easier time than did Boston's White—and gave the G.O.P. one of its few victories. Challenged by a black Democrat, Arnold Pinkney, 44, Perk, considered the "do-nothing" mayor of a financially troubled metropolis, emphasized the city's deep racial divisions rather than down-playing them. So, for that matter, did Pinkney, president of the city's school board and a former aide to Carl Stokes, Cleveland's first black mayor. But Perk, in gaining his third consecutive two-year term with 55% of the vote, was helped by the fact that Cleveland's white voters still outnumber black voters 6 to 4.

The most stunning upset was engineered in Minneapolis, where Independent Charles Stenvig, 47, defeated the easygoing, unexciting Democratic-Farmer-Labor mayor, Albert Hofstede, 35, by 503 votes. A recount is set for this week. A city police lieutenant, Stenvig won his first two-year term in 1969 on a right-wing, law-and-order plat-

form, but was upset by Hofstede in 1973. Working out of a basement office in his home, Stenvig parlayed a low voter turnout (39.9%) and Hofstede's incredible overconfidence (he bought no TV or newspaper advertising) into his cliff-hanging win. Stenvig said that his victory came about because "the Lord let it happen. God doesn't sponsor flops."

Philadelphia's burly ex-Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, 55, another law-and-order candidate who once boasted that he was so tough he would make "Attila the Hun look like a faggot," won more convincingly in his bid for re-election as the Democratic mayor. He garnered 25% more votes than his two lackluster opponents combined. Rizzo's victory came about despite some well-publicized embarrassments: the allegation that he had built a \$400,000 house on a \$40,000-a-year salary; his establishment of a political gumshoe squad that spied on political opponents; his flunking a lie-detector test in 1973 when he was questioned about involvement in local graft. Having displayed solid strength among labor, the white middle class and even the black community, Rizzo is now expected to begin plotting a run for Pennsylvania's governorship.

The Issues

Almost everywhere that voters were asked to authorize new spending or added governmental authority, the nays had it. A stunning 93% of the bond proposals offered across the country were thumbs down. In New York State a \$250 million bond proposal that would have financed housing for the elderly was defeated by a 2-to-1 margin. New Jersey residents scuttled \$922 million in four bond proposals, involving aid for transportation, state institutions, water resources, housing and tax abatements. The most thunderous "No!" to added spending was delivered in Ohio, where a \$4.5 billion package of bonds for transportation, housing, tax incentives and public works—the largest such proposal ever offered in any state—failed to carry a single county and lost by margins of as much as 4 to 1.

Most observers blamed New York's financial melodrama for stirring up panic over new spending. New Yorkers, for that matter, seemed pretty testy themselves. They voted heavily to curtail the mayor's powers—particularly in money matters—by approving several major changes in the city charter. They turned down a state equal rights amendment, as did New Jersey's voters (see THE SEX-ES). One of the most emotional battles in the U.S. was staged in San Francisco, whose citizens were furious over last summer's strikes by police and firemen (who were rewarded by outgoing Mayor Joseph Alioto with sizable raises). Voters overwhelmingly approved propositions limiting the pay of city employees and providing for their dismissal in the event of strikes.

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NEW YORK

Some Cheers for an Underdog

Before President Ford's speech two weeks ago rejecting federal aid to New York City, a Gallup poll showed that 42% of the public favored such assistance, while 49% were opposed. But a nationwide survey conducted by the *New York Times* and CBS after the speech indicated a turn-around: 55% of those polled approved of aid and 33% did not. A Harris poll revealed that the American people favor federal loan guarantees by a margin of 69% to 18%—if the city "balances its budget and such a plan would not cost the taxpayers any actual money." Pollster Louis Harris told congressional leaders: "The President's attitude of 'New York be damned' has changed the attitude of the American people."

the Federal Government to show "compassion and justice."

President Ford's attacks on beleaguered New York seem to have stirred a backlash of sympathy for the profligate city. As if in recognition of this, Betty Ford adopted a more conciliatory attitude when she went to New York to accept a Family of Man award for the President. Seated next to Beame at the New York City Council of Churches dinner, she expressed her "deep attachment, compassion and love ... for America's greatest city."

To be sure, many Americans had not changed their minds. Senator Howard Baker, a Tennessee Republican, reported that of 88 letters he had received on the subject by midweek, 79 opposed

the AFL-CIO announced its opposition to a \$7 billion loan-guarantee bill approved earlier in the week by the House Banking Committee. The labor leaders objected to the provision that would empower the city's overseers to renegotiate contracts with the public service unions. The House then put off consideration of the bill for at least a week.

There was no indication of a softening of the Administration's stand. Testifying before the Senate Banking Committee, Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns admitted: "My concern over the possible consequences of a default by New York City was greater three weeks ago than it was three months ago and is greater today than it was three weeks ago." Nevertheless, he still opposed federal aid. He thought default would not have a "very lasting or very severe" effect on the sale of other cities' securities.

Facing an almost inevitable default, New York officials were patching together their most improbable refinancing scheme to date. "This is like throwing an 82-yard pass with four seconds to go," said Felix Rohatyn, finance chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation. "There's no point in throwing a ten-yard pass." The aim is to raise as much as \$14 billion to cover the city's debt through fiscal 1978, after which the budget is supposed to be balanced. The plan includes generous contributions from city union pension funds as well as further loans from New York banks. Also contemplated is an exchange of short-term city notes for ten- and 15-year MAC bonds at 9% interest. If this is to succeed, most of the city noteholders must somehow be persuaded to make the switch—a dubious proposition.

Chain Reaction. In the event of default, city suppliers worried that they might not get their money, and there was talk of demanding cash on delivery. Some \$268 million remains to be paid on city contracts with businesses in 22 states. Says Comptroller Harrison Goldin: "The impact of default on city contractors would set in motion a chain reaction adversely affecting their own suppliers, their own credit standing and in some cases their own local governments."

As costs mounted relentlessly for New York, revenues continued to shrink. The fiscal 1976 budget deficit, estimated at \$724 million in August, has swelled to almost \$1 billion. As always, the city is overestimating its real estate tax revenues. Delinquencies reached 7%, or \$207 million, in fiscal 1975; and some 25% of all apartment buildings are already in arrears this year. At the same time, taxpaying corporations continue their exodus. Texaco is vacating 17 floors in Manhattan and relocating 1,450 employees upstate. Says Governor Carey: "Anything we haven't done and anything we haven't pursued we'll explore." But without federal assistance nothing is likely to work.



BETTY FORD & MAYOR ABE BEAME AT FAMILY OF MAN AWARD DINNER IN NEW YORK
The problem of throwing an 82-yard pass with four seconds to go.

City officials and sympathizers, meanwhile, embarked on a national campaign to try to encourage such feelings. In Washington, New York Mayor Abraham Beame cited the ways in which the city had cut back: a reduction of almost 36,000 public jobs, a freeze on wage increases and new construction, a boost in the transit fare to the highest in the nation (50¢). Ford's "bumper-sticker philosophy," said Beame, had "triggered hatred, disunity and confusion." New York Governor Hugh Carey lobbied his former colleagues in Congress, then at the end of the week he headed for the West Coast to try to convince people that their fate was entwined with New York City's. Joining the fight, Terence Cardinal Cooke of the New York Archdiocese declared that the human needs of the city required

federal aid to New York and only nine favored it. Notes Bob Turner, district representative for New Hampshire G.O.P. Congressman James Cleveland: "Nobody we've talked to wants the President or anybody else to bail out New York City."

Nonetheless, New York's city hall reported sympathetic letters as well as contributions were flowing in from around the country. Wrote Mrs. Jean Fowler of Little Rock, Ark.: "This won't buy more than a few light bulbs, but I like the lady in the harbor that belongs to all of us." Even George Wallace, who has smitten New York more vigorously than any politician alive, said that he would no longer oppose loan guarantees for the city.

Congress became bogged down again in its efforts to aid the city when

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WAVING FLAGS & CARRYING COPIES OF THE KORAN, MOROCCAN MARCHERS CROSS THE FRONTIER INTO THE SPANISH SAHARA

THE WORLD

NORTH AFRICA

On the Road from Morocco

Waving a forest of red flags with green five-pointed stars and shouting praises to the glory of Allah, more than 40,000 enthusiastic Moroccans last Thursday obeyed the order of their King and marched into the Spanish Sahara. In fervor and numbers, the invasion evoked memories of the armies of the Prophet Mohammed embarked on a holy war—or, possibly, a biblical epic staged by Hollywood. By week's end nearly 100,000 of the unarmed marchers, asserting Morocco's claim to the mineral-rich Spanish colony, had moved seven miles across the border and were camped within sight of the euphemistically named dissuasion line—minefields and concertinas of barbed wire installed by the Spanish forces to halt the invaders. As diplomats frantically tried to find a face-saving way to defuse the confrontation and avoid bloodshed, tension mounted.

This long-prepared "Green March" was the bizarre means devised by Morocco's King Hassan II to annex the colony peacefully. Accompanying the marchers was TIME Correspondent Wilton Wynn, who cabled this report:

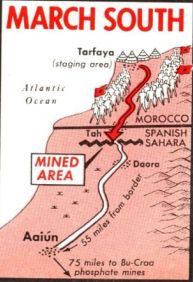
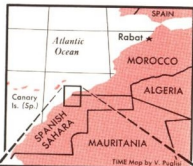
Leading the marchers across the border was Moroccan Premier Ahmed Osman; with him were several Cabinet ministers, and visiting delegations from Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Gabon. Once inside the Sahara, they stopped at the white-domed outpost at Tah, which had been abandoned just a few days earlier

by the Spanish when they pulled back their troops. After kneeling in prayer, the group of VIPs headed back into Morocco. Gendarmes then gave a signal, and thousands of Moroccans—wearing everything from *djellabas* to soccer uniforms—poured across the border.

As they fell to their knees and prayed outside the outpost, workmen hastily erected a triumphal arch on the previously unmarked boundary; atop it were Moroccan flags and huge portraits of Hassan. After moving into the Sahara in a great human flood a half-mile abreast, the marchers soon narrowed into a column eight to ten people wide and began raggedly shuffling down the single-lane asphalt road in the direction of Aaiún, Sahara's capital. A huge paratrooper distributed paperback copies of the Koran, which the marchers waved as they chanted, "Allah akbar [God is great]." "The Sahara is Moroccan," "Long live King Hassan."

Brave Marchers. Because the Spaniards had pulled back nine miles to the dissuasion line, the Moroccans encountered no resistance other than the cactus and the sand they kicked up into annoying swirls. Ahead, the land was completely flat until the dissuasion line, where it dips into a valley and rises to a plateau. On the plateau's rim, silhouettes of Spanish army tanks were visible; Spanish helicopters hovered ominously over the advancing column.

At the dissuasion line there were signs warning that the area was mined.





KING HASSAN II WAVES TO MOROCCANS ASSEMBLING IN AGADIR FOR THE "GREEN MARCH"
An advance reminiscent of the Prophet's army, but the leader stayed behind.

The Spanish authorities claim they have buried more than 20,000 explosive devices throughout the area. We were told that the mines had been placed only within a mile of either side of the road. This means the marchers could proceed safely if they were willing to leave the asphalt and brave the inhospitable desert.

Twinkling Lights. As the marchers neared the dissuasion line, Moroccan gendarmes told them to halt. The weary walkers fanned out along the side of the road and began preparing campsites; old men started chipping away at their sugar loaves in anticipation of the tea that would soon be brewing. When night fell, lights could be seen twinkling in the opposing camps, as on the eve of some great medieval battle. On the Moroccan side, dinners were being cooked and tea brewed over thousands of tiny brushwood fires that were also providing some warmth from the desert cold. In the Spanish camp, some of the lights were also fires; others were the headlamps of heavy armored vehicles patrolling the plateau. Although fatigued by the day's hot, dusty trek, the Moroccans nonetheless were in very high spirits and sang and danced late into the night. Trucks had brought them ample supplies of water, as well as crates of dates and canned tuna and mackerel, typifying the remarkably efficient logistics that have been characteristic of the entire march.

King Hassan had originally boasted that he would lead his people into the Sahara but suddenly had second thoughts. Declaring that the "duty of a chief is to remain at the command post of the nation," he stayed at his vacation villa in Agadir and sent Premier Osman in his place. The monarch was able to offer the marchers plenty of verbal encouragement. "Greet every Spaniard you meet, and ask him to enter your tent and share your rations," he exhorted. "We do not want any blood to flow. If they fire on you, advance peacefully." Spanish officials in the colony, however, warned that the Moroccans could indeed encounter

fire. "You can be sure the march will end at the exact military border, where we have set up our operations center," cautioned Lieut. General Federico Gómez de Salazar, Spain's military commander in the Sahara. "If they go just one yard farther, they will be met by terrible minefields."

The march took place in the midst of a week of frantic diplomatic activity aimed at reconciling the opposing sides: Morocco, which has historic claims to the phosphate-rich colony, and socialist Algeria, which wants to prevent the colony from falling into the hands of Hassan, a semifeudal reactionary in Algerian eyes. Spain is caught in the middle. Having ruled the 103,000-sq.-mi. colony and its 70,000 nomads for 91 years, it is more than willing to give up administrative responsibilities for the area and thus avoid the kind of bloody colonial war that drained Portugal's resources (see story page 41).

Madrid at first appeared willing to accept a Moroccan takeover of the Sahara; in return, the Spaniards hoped to keep a share of the lucrative phosphatizing industry, which Spain has developed at a cost of more than \$447 million. Bowing to Algerian and United

THE WORLD

Nations pressure, Spain decided to oppose Hassan's occupation of the colony. To dramatize this new stance—and possibly to build up his image at home as a forceful leader—Spain's acting Chief of State Prince Juan Carlos flew to Aaiun for a visit with the commanders of the 15,000 troops based there. "Spain will meet its promises and try to maintain peace," said the Prince.

When it became apparent that Hassan would go ahead with the march, the U.N. Security Council called on all nations concerned "to avoid unilateral or other action which might further escalate the tension in the area." One reason Hassan has remained adamant, perhaps, is fear that his prestige among his subjects will plunge if he appears to back down under pressure. When he received a cable from the Security Council to "end forthwith the declared march," he dryly replied: "The march started this morning."

Fearful Hassan. At week's end the U.N. was still hoping mediation would settle the crisis. One plan, reportedly agreeable to both Madrid and Algiers, involves a six-month U.N. administration of the colony, during which Spanish troops would gradually withdraw, followed by elections in which the inhabitants would decide their political future. Hassan, however, fears voting in the colony would be manipulated by the Algerians, who have strong links to the leftist Polisario Front, the Sahara's best-organized political group. On Saturday, nevertheless, the King received a special envoy from Spain, Cabinet Member Antonio Carro Martínez for further talks on the crisis.

The talks—or some other behind-the-scenes maneuvers—finally convinced Hassan to pull back his marchers. On Sunday, the King announced that the march had "achieved its objective" and ordered his people to return to their base camp inside Moroccan borders. In return, according to one report, Spain was expected to announce that it would turn over the disputed colony to U.N. administration until a referendum could decide its future.

SPAIN'S JUAN CARLOS GREETING LOCAL TRIBESMEN DURING VISIT TO SAHARA



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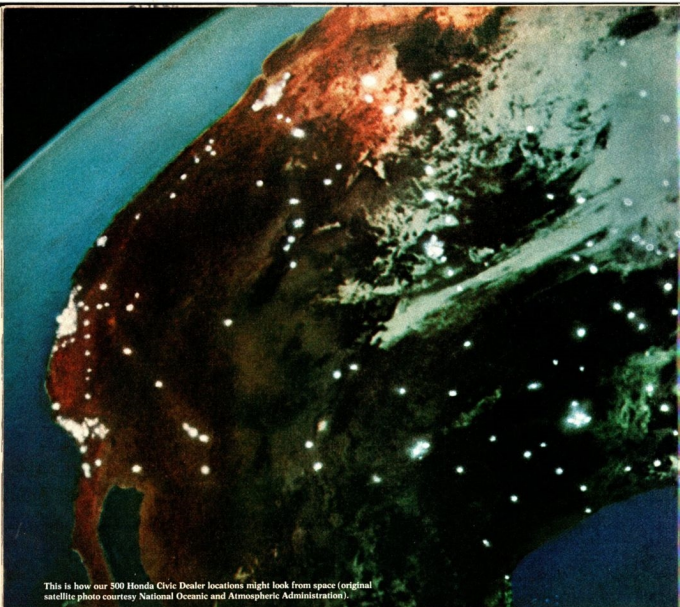
This year, I.W. Harper is offering you the rare opportunity to give this exclusive Bicentennial limited edition barrel. Inside you'll find a fifth of magnificent I.W. Harper bourbon, specially aged for 130 months.

Only a limited number of these handsome collector's items exist. They are not available in every state. So, when you buy your gifts, be sure to set one aside for your own collection.



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This is how our 500 Honda Civic Dealer locations might look from space (original satellite photo courtesy National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration).

The most important adver

A Candid Discussion of the Changing Meaning of the Automobile in America

The automobile in this country will never be the same. Say goodbye to those gas-eating giants that were once the symbol of affluence and manhood in America. That symbol is being discarded. Do not lament its passing. Today there is a new symbol: the highly-functional, good-mileage car. It is the symbol of the new American: intelligent and thoughtful of the world he inhabits.

Our car, the Honda Civic CVCC[®] with its remarkable Advanced Stratified

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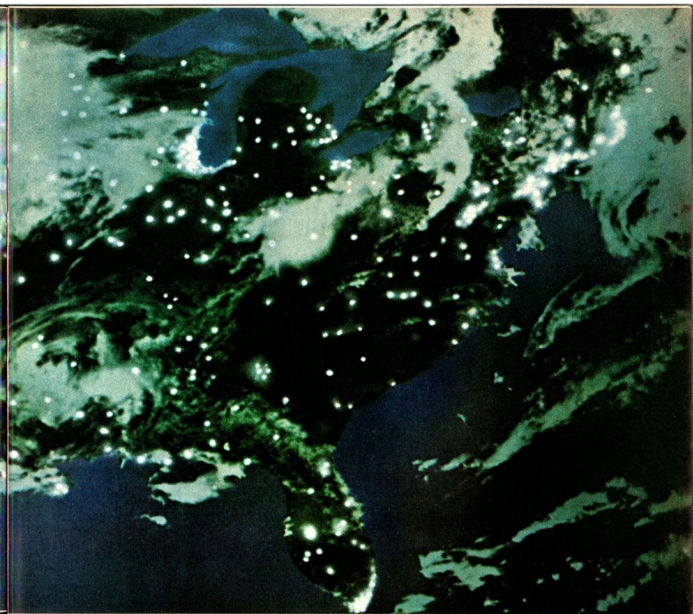
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Thank you for reading this lengthy message.



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What the world is coming to.

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ANGOLA

Independence—But for Whom?

Portugal's 500-year-old colonial empire in Africa comes to an end this week. In accordance with instructions from Lisbon, the last Portuguese high commissioner in Angola, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, will lower his country's red, yellow and green flag at the 16th century stone fort of São Miguel in Luanda, the territory's capital. Then he plans to tuck it under his arm and—much to the annoyance of Angolans—sail off with it to Lisbon on a waiting Portuguese frigate. His unwillingness to hand over the flag with the reins of power is not a last vestige of colonial arrogance. It is just that he would not know whom to give it to.

On the eve of independence, Angola last week was sinking farther and farther into a vicious civil war involving three independence movements, each of which claims to represent the people of this new non-nation. The three:

- The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.), a Soviet-backed group which controls Luanda and is headed by Agostinho Neto, 53.

- The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (F.N.L.A.), led by Holden Roberto, 52, with strong support from Zaïre, France and reportedly the U.S.

- The moderate socialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), headed by Jonas Savimbi, 40, which has been backed by Portuguese business interests.

The F.N.L.A. and UNITA are in uneasy alliance against M.P.L.A. The three longstanding Angolan liberation movements have been so violently divided that no one has been able to form a new national government to accept independence. The Organization of African Unity, under the prod of Uganda's Idi Amin, claimed that last-minute efforts had forced a coalition, but no one believed the hollow boast.

Rapacious Neighbors. One measure of the prevailing confusion was uncertainty about the fate of Cabinda, a tiny (2,800 sq. mi.) oil-rich enclave that is geographically disconnected from the rest of Angola and wedged between Zaïre and the Congo. Last week Zaïre announced that Congolese troops had invaded Cabinda. When there was no confirmation from inside Cabinda, suspicions grew that Zaïre was merely preparing a justification for mounting its own invasion. At week's end Zaïre announced it was massing troops on its border with Cabinda, and a full-scale invasion of the enclave seemed imminent. In Cabinda itself, distrust of its rapacious neighbors and disgust with Angola's divisions were building pressure to go it alone and declare independence.

Given the gloomy realities in Angola, that did not seem irrational. At least 10,000 people have died in the past

year of fighting—more than the total for the entire 13-year guerrilla war for independence. Last week combined F.N.L.A.-UNITA units were closing in on Luanda. To the south, a 1,200-man F.N.L.A.-UNITA force under the command of M.P.L.A. Defector Daniel Chipenda and spearheaded by 150 Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian mercenaries captured the tactically critical towns of Benguela and Lobito.



M.P.L.A.'S AGOSTINHO NETO
The flag goes to Portugal.

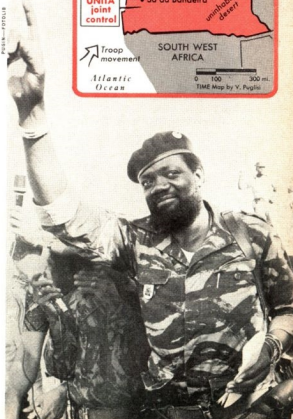
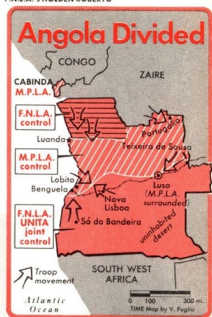
Though the mechanized troops are still 400 miles from Luanda, there were few obstacles left between them and the capital. North of Luanda, meanwhile, F.N.L.A. forces were within 18 miles of the city and scarcely a mortar's lob from the capital's sole source of water. They claimed that they would wait only until the last of the Portuguese were gone before assaulting the city. The M.P.L.A. was ready. "We will succeed in the long run," said one commander, "thanks to Comrade God."

All the same, Luandans were not planning much of an independence celebration. "There will be no fireworks display—unless the enemy provides one by attacking us," said one M.P.L.A. official ruefully. Even that *de rigueur* rite of passage to independence—the tearing down of statues of Portuguese heroes—was carried out almost absent-mindedly.

"The once thriving city is now jittery and almost eerily quiet," reported TIME Nairobi Bureau Chief Lee Griggs from Luanda. "For weeks, residents have been dragged into daily



F.N.L.A.'S HOLDEN ROBERTO

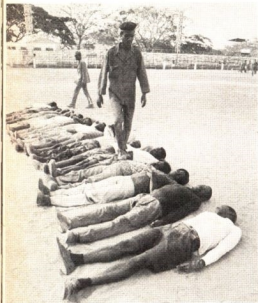


UNITA'S JONAS SAVIMBI



UNITA MILITIA MARCHES IN GOOSE-STEP STYLE TO GREET LEADER JONAS SAVIMBI AT AIRPORT IN SÁ DA BANDEIRA

SYGMA



STOMACH STOMPING IN LUANDA

workouts at a dusty soccer field to practice street-fighting techniques; the sessions include being stomped by instructors to toughen stomach muscles. All Angolan males between 18 and 35 have been declared part of a 'Popular Power Militia.' Meanwhile garbage piles up in the streets, attracting scores of scrawny, scavenging dogs and cats abandoned by their departing owners. Most buses have broken down and roadways are littered with wrecked cars and trucks, many of them cannibalized for spare parts. The docks are piled high with Portuguese crates of personal goods of fleeing whites and many of them have already been looted.

Hotels still have caviar and Portuguese wine in stock, but basics are in short supply. Breadlines form at 4 a.m. at the few bakeries still open, and the city is out of soft drinks and beer by noon every day. Most of the stores are padlocked and shuttered. Foreign newsmen have been rousted out of bed at 4 a.m. for identity checks, and several were detained temporarily. Some 70 other foreign civilians have reportedly also been arrested.

The threat of all-out civil war has prompted a wholesale flight of whites. About 250,000 have left in the past two months, most via a massive airlift to Lisbon. There the disgruntled émigrés are adding to conservative pressures on the government (see box page 44). Only about 10% of the 500,000 whites who lived in Angola when independence was first promised 18 months ago now remain in the territory.

As a result, the country is in a shambles. Only about 100 doctors are left in a nation twice the size of France with a population of 6 million people. The economy of what had been the second

richest nation in black Africa (after Nigeria) is in ruins. In 1974 Angola was the world's fourth largest coffee producer (earnings: \$231 million) and fifth largest source of diamonds (nearly \$100 million). Its iron ore mines brought in \$38 million; and the vital east-west Benguela Railway, which carried most of Zambia's and Zaïre's copper ore to the sea, brought in \$1 million a week in transit revenues. Because of the fighting and the flight of white settlers, the railroad is closed. So are the iron mines. The coffee crop, most of it rotting on the bushes, will be one-fifth the size of last year's, and diamond production will also drop by more than 50%. Only oil production remains relatively untouched: 120,000 bbl. per day were still being pumped out in the northern enclave of Cabinda—though with last week's reported increase in unrest, that source of wealth also seems likely to dry up.

Flimsy Charade. In light of Angola's rich resources, it is no surprise that parties other than the warring independence movements are deeply involved. The Russians have helped make the 30,000-man M.P.L.A. army the best-equipped of the three forces, providing it with ample supplies of rockets, heavy artillery and missiles (including the hand-held SA-7 to deal with air strikes). Russian technicians, as well as some North Vietnamese, have arrived in Angola, and at least 400 Cubans are serving in combat with the M.P.L.A. as advisers. (The Cubans tried to pass themselves off as mulattoes from the Cape Verde Islands—a flimsy charade since they speak Spanish, not Portuguese.) The Portuguese government, though nominally neutral in the struggle, has also leaned toward the M.P.L.A., partly because M.P.L.A. Leader Neto is a longtime friend of Admiral António Rosa Coutinho, who openly supported the group when he was Portugal's Angolan high commissioner.

F.N.L.A. Chief Roberto has had his own source of foreign strength. His



PRO-F.N.L.A. MERCENARY TROOPS

TIME, NOVEMBER 17, 1975



Meanwhile... 25 billion U.S. dollars go to foreign countries for foreign oil and foreign payrolls.

How much is 25 billion?

If an owner told his foreman to go out and hire 20 workers every day at a salary of \$20,000 and not to come back until he spent 25 billion dollars . . . the foreman wouldn't come back for 175 years!

Or consider this measure. 25 billion dollars is enough to hire one million two hundred fifty thousand unemployed Americans at \$20,000 a year.

Chances are we couldn't — and for that matter, wouldn't want to — end all oil imports. But certainly we can reduce this drain on our capital which is contributing to our inflation and unemployment.

How?

By attacking the central defect of our nation's energy system—suicidal reliance on our least-plentiful fossil energy resources, oil and gas, and a minimal reliance on our most-plentiful — coal.

Envision what could be done if we cut our oil import needs in half. Imagine 12½ billion spent on producing American energy in America with American workers.

The result would be jobs that would create jobs that would create jobs.

Take the Electric Utility industry for example: Forced by inflation, runaway fuel costs and skyrocketing interest rates, construction projects that would have produced 165,000,000 needed kilowatts of power for the future, have been delayed or cancelled.

As a result, more than half a million annual construction jobs will be lost over the next five years, and a power shortage made likely . . . with still more jobs lost.

If the electric utility industry could get its building program back on the track, the number of unemployed in the construction industry could be reduced by as much as 12 percent.

It's time to put a stop to talk.

Let's start making the hard decisions necessary for a viable National Energy Program, that will stimulate economic growth, create new jobs, lessen our dependence on foreign oil and avoid a power shortage.

A vital key to such a program is increasing our dependence on our wealth of coal.

A crash development of this vast resource—in harmony with environmental protection — will cap the damaging flow of American dollars to foreign pockets.

Billions of dollars that can be spent here at home for American jobs . . . to fill American pockets.



American Electric Power Company, Inc.

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THE WORLD

brother-in-law, Zaïre President Mobutu Sese Seko, provides the F.N.L.A.'s 33,000 regular troops with arms, armored cars and personnel carriers sent to Zaïre by France and China. Roberto, the most Western-oriented of the Angolan liberation leaders, has also reportedly received CIA backing; it is believed that the Administration's request to Congress for a \$35 million increase in military aid to Zaïre is mostly ticketed for the F.N.L.A. Until UNITA's military alliance with the F.N.L.A. three months ago, it had the weakest international connections, and its 10,000 troops were poorly armed. Since the alliance, however, Zaïre has

been flying in guns and armored vehicles in its U.S.-built C-130 transport planes.

Despite the current advances made by the F.N.L.A. and UNITA troops, it seems unlikely that any force can win control of the country in the near future. The three movements, each of which has specific links to Angola's major tribes, have too little in common for any political alliance to survive long. Earlier agreements sealed with hugs and pledges dissolved into warfare within days. UNITA's Savimbi recently predicted "three years of all-out armed struggle before there is a meaningful outcome."

Even then, the outcome may be a

partitioning of the country into the three areas where the movements have their greatest indigenous support—the M.P.L.A. along the coastline and in the northern and eastern interior, the F.N.L.A. in the northwest and UNITA in the central and southern part of the country. Angola's resources are divided in such a way that each of the areas could be economically viable. But if it takes three years of bloodletting on the scale of the past twelve months to reach that solution, then everyone will be a loser in the wake of an independence that has already turned into a genuine African tragedy.

Bitter Harvest of Civil War

In their desperate, headlong flight, some had waded or swum across the Cune River into South West Africa (Namibia). Many had made the perilous journey in fishing trawlers down the reef-ridden coast to Walvis Bay. Still others had crossed the desert in broken-down trucks and cars. Then, beginning five months ago, a massive air- and sea-lift returned them to their native country (TIME, Sept. 22). By last week 300,000 of them had arrived in Portugal —or *retornados* (the returned), the refugees who are the bitter harvest of Angola's civil war.

Fearing anarchy, Portuguese settlers in the former colony have left homes, farms and businesses, built up over decades. Destitute in Portugal, many face the hostility of their countrymen, the apprehension of their government and the fear of left-wing political parties. Although unorganized, the refugees are believed to be potential supporters of a right-wing coup. Portuguese newspapers last week warned that rightist forces

were preparing a coup on Angola independence day to oust moderate Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo. Such tales, no matter how fanciful, have reinforced Portuguese mistrust and dislike of the newcomers.

The leftist-dominated press and radio have been carrying on a cruelly successful campaign to turn the population against the newcomers. The papers have created fears that the refugees will take away jobs in Portugal, which is already suffering 10% unemployment, and have been playing up the subsidy of 5,000 escudos (\$200) that the refugees receive from the government when they arrive. As a result, there have been ugly street clashes between newcomers and locals, and schoolchildren from Angola are taunted by their classmates.

About half of the former Angolans have gone to the impoverished north of Portugal, where many came from, looking for work and help from relatives. Every day the local papers are filled with lists of people seeking long-lost relatives.

About 250 have been put into Lisbon's Ritz Hotel for lack of space elsewhere. The rest of the refugees are living in wretched shantytown camps, in hospitals or schools. The government pays for this through a new agency, established to help the newcomers, with a budget of \$160 million. Hundreds are squatters at Lisbon International Airport.

Most of the refugees were Portuguese dirt farmers who went to Africa looking for a better life than the miserable existence offered by the rocky slopes of northern Portugal. Few got rich. About 10% are black or of mixed blood. Last week Maria da Silva Caldeira, 48, a widow who had been a washerwoman in Angola, sat disconsolately in a hanger surrounded by her ten children. "I did not have an easy time in Angola, but this is worse," she said. "They have spoiled our lives."

As the plight of the refugees worsens, their anger grows. Most are furious at the successive Portuguese governments that agreed to grant Angola independence. Few differentiate between Communists, Socialists and other left-wing parties in Portugal. Luis Galvão Lopes, 39, formerly an Angolan office worker, spoke for many refugees last week when he cursed the former Portuguese high commissioner for Angola, Admiral António Rosa Coutinho, calling him "Red Rosa" and the *carrasco* (executioner) of the refugees. What about a moderate like Socialist Leader Mário Soares? "The garbage is all the same," he answered.

The refugees today are an inchoate, though highly volatile mass that represents no immediate threat to the government. But if they settle down and organize, they may prove to be a formidable danger to the moderates as well as to the Communists. Meanwhile, many wealthy and professionally skilled Angolans have settled in Spain, France and Brazil rather than stay in Portugal. "These people are a gold mine of talent," said a top-ranking foreign diplomat. "If Portugal doesn't have the foresight to tap their skills, but drives them away, only the dirt farmers will be left."

RECENT REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA SITTING AMIDST THEIR BELONGINGS AT LISBON AIRPORT

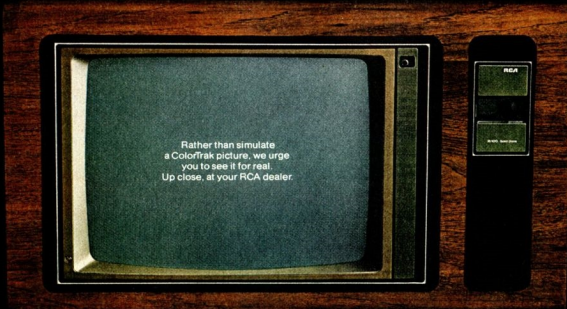


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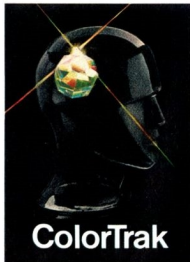
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LEBANON

A Time to Dig Out—and Rearm

Perhaps it was a late-dawning awareness of the extent of the destruction and horror. Perhaps it was sheer exhaustion. Perhaps it was only that the opposing sides needed a chance to replenish arms supplies. Whatever the reason, Beirut last week was tremulously observing a pause in the political-sectarian civil war that has killed at least 3,500, wounded 6,000 more, left more than \$2 billion in property damage and destroyed the city's once free-wheeling economy. Beirutis have seen eleven previous cease-fires come and swiftly go in the past eight weeks; few believed that the twelfth and newest would be lasting proof against the violence.

The cease-fire was the result of Premier Rashid Karami's tireless wheeling, pushing and talking with leaders of the rival warring factions (see box). But there was no agreement on any of the political issues that have divided Lebanon between conservative Christians, who constitute less than 40% of the population, and predominantly Moslem leftists, who are in the majority and want political reforms that would result in a more equitable distribution of power now largely in Christian hands.

The left had won a limited tactical



GUNMEN TAKING A COFFEE BREAK BEHIND SANDBAGS DURING A LULL IN BEIRUT FIGHTING

Wheeling, pushing and talking, but probably not proof against more violence.

victory the week before in the city's worst violence to date, and neither side gave up any key positions during last week's cease-fire. Christian Phalangists did leave some of the luxury hotels they had occupied in downtown Beirut but held on to the rocket-battered 26-story Holiday Inn. Leftists refused to budge from their commanding perch in the nearby 30-story, unfinished Murr Tow-

er. Public cynicism about the cease-fire deepened when Karami's attempt to collect heavy weapons from both sides produced nothing. Kidnaping continued, and snipers killed ten on the third day of the truce.

Still, the situation was an improvement. "We must not remain hiding in our homes just because a shot is heard here or there," urged Announcer Sharif

Lebanon's 'Man of Eternal Hope'

If, by chance, Lebanon's twelfth cease-fire takes hold, the man responsible will be Premier Rashid Karami, whose amazing patience makes him look like "the man of eternal hope." A Sunni Moslem lawyer from Tripoli, Karami locked himself in the Serail (Government House) during the peak of the most recent fighting and vowed he would not leave until the street battles ended. In effect, Karami became the government. He took over the direction of security affairs—he holds the Defense portfolio in addition to being Premier—and worked round the clock without the help of aides, pleading with leaders of the warring factions to stop the shooting. Shortly after the announcement of the cease-fire, TIME's Beirut bureau chief Karsten Prager interviewed the weary but smiling Premier in his Serail office. Excerpts from the conversation:

ON LEBANON'S AGONY: I can assure you that most Lebanese do not accept what has happened here. I can say 95% of the people do not want to fight one another but want to live together in one family.

ON THE CEASE-FIRE: I think all Lebanese are by now convinced force is not

the way to bring about progress or realize [political] demands. All Lebanese must realize after this crisis that even if they fight for another 100 years, they won't gain their objectives.

ON THE POLITICAL ISSUES AT STAKE: All the people on the National Dialogue Committee, which represents the political and religious factions in the country, now admit there ought to be reform.

LEBANESE PREMIER RASHID KARAMI



I am now hopeful that we are on the way to finding common principles and solutions that can form a program for the future. That is the only way to create a new Lebanon that can respond to the aspirations of the people, particularly the young generation.

ON HIS POSSIBLE RESIGNATION: I have not lost hope that we can bring Lebanon out of this difficulty. I have made up my mind that I will do everything possible to succeed in the task. Resignation would be the easy way, the selfish way, and I have never been a selfish man.

ON FOREIGN INTERFERENCE: This crisis is the responsibility of the Lebanese. If the Lebanese had not been willing to fight one another, no one could have made them fight. It is our responsibility. No one who has an interest in destroying Lebanon can succeed if the Lebanese are united. Syrian interference? Yes, there was, but it was mediation for the good of Lebanon, an attempt to help us get out of the crisis, a brotherly and neighborly thing.

ON MILITIAS AND THE ARMS FLOW: I think military service can be one of the solutions. The other one is to convince every Lebanese that arms were the main instruments of this crisis. It is no use to go on like that.

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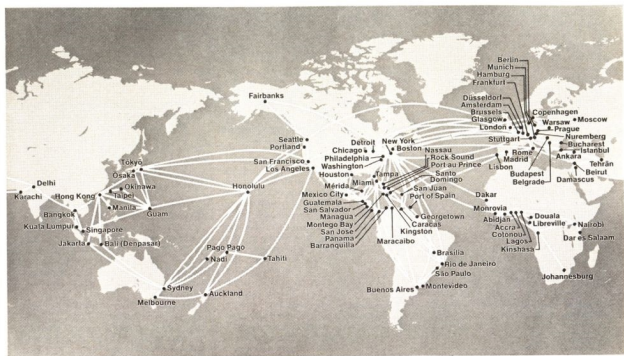
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THE WORLD

Akhawi of Radio Lebanon, who was the only source of reliable information for Lebanese during the fighting. Thus encouraged, Beirutis took advantage of the fragile peace. Many who had been trapped in their homes emerged—some in order to flee the city. Overflow lines of visa applicants waited outside the U.S. embassy. Most stores did not reopen, but sidewalk vendors—sometimes offering looted goods from those same closed stores—busily peddled everything from vegetables to fancy clothes. Suitcases were especially hot items. Traffic was nearly at normal bumper-to-bumper proportions in some areas, though it thinned out early each afternoon, particularly on streets dividing opposing sides. In one remarkable incident, fedayeen of Fatah, on orders from Palestine Liberation Organization Leader Yasser Arafat, brought food and water to some 100 Lebanese Jews who had been trapped in a synagogue that was close to some of the bloodiest street fighting.

Clean-up efforts began, but schools and most banks did not reopen, and most civil servants ignored Premier Karami's order to return to work. One suspicion was that the lull was only a "paycheck truce" during which the soldiers of the private militias involved would collect back salaries from local political bosses or other employers, get food for their families and rebuild their own supply of arms and ammunition.

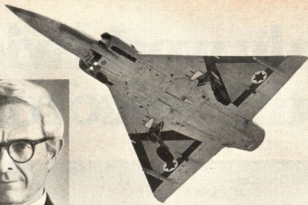
Mysterious Army. There is certainly no problem finding arms. Leftist weapons flow through neighboring Syria; local distribution is controlled by the fedayeen. Libya and Iraq reportedly provide the money for the arms. Funding for the rightists comes from rich Lebanese Christians both inside and outside the country, but there are predictable suspicions that the U.S. may be involved, as well as Iran, Jordan and even Israel. In any case, the Christians buy most of their arms in Western and Eastern Europe through well-placed and long-established agents. Most shipments then come in by boat along the largely Christian-held coastline between Beirut and Tripoli.

Last week the discovery of one such shipment being unloaded threatened to finish the shaky truce on its fourth day. Tipped off in advance, the government had sent army troops to stop the delivery. The army's role has been curtailed throughout the crisis because of Moslem fears that its mostly Christian officer corps would favor the Phalangists. Sure enough, the army mysteriously failed to stop the weapon delivery. "The ship is still unloading," announced an obviously angry Karami, "although troops are surrounding the area and the ship itself. When the reasons for the army's inability to carry out its duties are known to me, I shall have a stand." As Karami once again contemplated resigning, Beirutis batted down in fear that the new strain would lead to another burst of fighting.



THEY ARTIST

ROBERT W. TUCKER (INSERT); ISRAELI-BUILT Kfir JET FIGHTER



DAVID RUBINGER

DIPLOMACY

Out of the Nuclear Closet

One of the worst-kept secrets in the Middle East is Israel's nuclear capability. For nearly a decade, Israel has had the materials and scientific talent needed to make atomic weapons, as well as some means of firing them on Arab targets. Jerusalem has consistently refused to acknowledge its nuclear muscle; yet since it is fooling practically no one, what is to be gained by ambiguity? Not much, argues Robert W. Tucker, professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins University. In the November issue of *Commentary*, Tucker suggests that Israel should seriously consider making public the existence of an atomic arsenal and adopt a defense policy "based on a known nuclear deterrent."

Tucker, 51, is emerging as something of a superhawk on Middle Eastern affairs. Last January, in another much-debated *Commentary* article, he laid out a blueprint for a U.S. military takeover of Persian Gulf oil wells in the event of another Arab oil embargo. In an interview with *TIME* last week, he argued that the nuclear situation in the Middle East "is going to evolve anyway. The real question then is: What is the best way to have it evolve? My concept of an Israeli nuclear deterrent may create the context in which the Israelis will feel secure enough to move toward a permanent settlement."

As Tucker sees it, Israel's announcement of a nuclear capability would:

- 1) Give the Jewish state a means of competing with the Arabs' growing military strength without putting "the Israeli economy under serious strain," as would continued reliance on conventional weapons alone;
- 2) Provide a "substitute for territorial security," allowing Israel to give up occupied Arab territories "without the need to insist upon concessions the Arabs will almost surely not make";
- 3) Create an environment in which war becomes potentially so devastating that "the less responsible activists would be seen as posing enormous dangers to

all parties and the need to control them would soon be expressed in policy."

4) Reduce Jerusalem's dependence on the U.S., since "with a nuclear deterrent, Israel's destiny need no longer rest in American hands."

Tucker concedes that his proposal, if adopted by Israel, would "provoke a uniformly adverse reaction abroad." He also recognizes some dangers in his suggestions, such as the start of an atomic arms race in the Middle East and disapproval by Washington that could result in "sharply reduced American arms support" for Israel. He insists, however, that the Arabs will probably acquire atomic weapons anyway. His reason: "[Their] wealth and power, as well as the ever-increasing availability of nuclear technology." In fact, last week Egypt and the U.S. initiated an agreement for the construction in Egypt of two nuclear power generators. Even so, Tucker argues, a "nuclear [weapons] environment" in the region would give the Arab states "a very great incentive and justification to move in the direction" of reaching an accommodation with Israel.

There are some flaws in this chilling proposal. Tucker claims that an Israeli nuclear deterrent would inhibit the Arab states from mounting a war of attrition. But what would prevent the Arabs from threatening nuclear retaliation? This would neutralize Jerusalem's nuclear deterrent and force the Israelis to counter an Arab attack using conventional forces. Jerusalem might then find itself bogged down in the kind of long, costly campaign that, according to Tucker, should have been averted by an open nuclear strategy. Tucker's proposals also leave little room for miscalculation. If a Middle East "nuclear balance" does not, in fact, have the "stabilizing effect" he predicts, a miscalculation by either side could trigger a war infinitely more catastrophic than any waged with conventional weapons.

It is unlikely that the Israeli government will soon follow Tucker's advice. The attitude of its leaders has not changed much since 1966, when Shimon Peres (now Defense Minister) told the Knesset: "I know that the Arabs sus-



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power plants
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Where can we turn for tomorrow's power? To coal conversion? Oil shale extraction? The wind? The sun? The tides? The earth's internal heat? The atom? The answer is "all of these things and more." No one source will meet our total energy needs. The question is what part will each play?

Most energy planners look to nuclear energy to meet a portion of tomorrow's power requirements. A pound of uranium reactor fuel can yield the energy equivalent of 25 tons of coal, 107 barrels of oil.

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**"Nuclear power
potential is too
great to ignore."**

pect our nuclear intentions, and I know that this suspicion is a deterrent force. Then why should we allay these suspicions?" This not only keeps the Arabs guessing, but also avoids the international censure that would surely fall on Israel if it openly declared that it had become an atomic power. Nonetheless, U.S. military experts believe that the Israeli air force has modified some of its war planes to deliver atomic bombs.

Washington is convinced that Israel would use its nukes only as a last, desperate resort. State Department officials are also worried about Arab response to the kind of policy Tucker proposes. "Israel will be playing with dangerous fire," warned Tahsin Bashir, press secretary to President Anwar Sadat. "These are weapons which can wreck both houses—Arabs and Israelis—and increase insecurity in the area."

BANGLADESH

Coups and Chaos

From the moment of its independence, Bangladesh has lived on the edge of anarchy. Thousands of leftist Mukti Bahini guerrillas who had fought for independence from Pakistan retained their arms after the fighting ended. The 35,000-man army simmered with discontent, and rivalries between volatile factions were held in check mainly by the prestige of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whom Bengalis revered as *Bangabandhu* (friend of Bengal). But last August Mujib and his family were massacred by the "seven majors," a group of young officers who staged a brutal lightning coup against Mujib's increasingly corrupt and autocratic regime. Lacking broad popular support, the young officers ever since have faced twin dangers: revenge by Mujib's outraged supporters

or a reassertion of authority by the older generals they elbowed aside during the coup.

Last week in a dizzying sequence of events, the seven majors and the civil administration they had set up were ousted. The generals then installed their own President—Abu Sadat Mohamed Sayem, chief justice of the Bangladesh Supreme Court. At week's end Bangladesh appeared threatened with civil war. Reports reached New Delhi of clashes involving thousands of armed students in Dacca and fighting between rival military units across the nation.

The week of coup and countercoup apparently began with murder. Late Sunday night a number of prominent political prisoners, including two former Prime Ministers and other followers of Sheikh Mujib, were murdered in Dacca jail. As news of the massacre spread through the city, crowds blamed the crime on the ruling majors.

The jail murders and the emotional Bengalis' reaction to the news apparently convinced the generals that it was time to oust the upstarts. Early Monday morning, soldiers loyal to the generals took up positions outside the presidential palace. As helicopters and MIGs made mock strafing runs over the palace, the majors negotiated a deal: surrender of power in exchange for safe-conduct passage for themselves and their families to Thailand. Among those who promptly applied for political asylum in the U.S. and Pakistan was Lieut. Colonel Sayed Farook Rahman, instigator of the August coup.

The deal was approved by Bangladesh's civilian President Khondakar Mushtaque Ahmed, who turned out to be the week's next political victim. As students and followers of Mujib rioted in Dacca to protest the escape of the majors, Khondakar resigned and was replaced by Sayem. Real power, however, seemed to lie with a ten-man military council. The council's heads included Major General Khalid Musharraf, who almost immediately arrested and displaced his boss, Lieut. General Zia-Ur Rahman, as army chief of staff.

The reshuffling had barely begun. Soon after being sworn in as President, Sayem addressed the nation, promising a return to parliamentary rule by February 1977. A few hours later, Radio Bangladesh crackled with news that General Zia had returned to power, as chief of staff of the Bangladesh army but retaining the newly appointed Sayem as President. By this time, nobody knew which of the recent actors in this bloody drama were dead and which were alive. Khondakar was alive, because he broadcast an appeal for support for his successor. But the short-lived Chief of Staff Khalid was reported killed only a few hours after he had come to power. All over Bangladesh, one of the world's poorest, most overcrowded and most mismanaged nations, there were fearful signs of rising disorder.



"It's all perfectly legal. I'll show you the law as soon as the ink is dry."

INDIA

Justice for Indira

To the delight of her fervent followers, five justices of the Supreme Court of India last week ruled that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was innocent. In separate but concurring opinions, the judges upheld the legality of the 1975 election-law amendment—passed retroactively by India's rubber-stamp Parliament after opposition members either were arrested or walked out—that changed the statutes under which Mrs. Gandhi had been found guilty of corrupt campaign practices. In essence, the ruling reversed the June Allahabad high court decision that would have barred her from holding elective office for six years.

The Allahabad decision had triggered a mounting protest campaign by Mrs. Gandhi's opposition that led her to declare a state of emergency and suspend many of India's democratic freedoms. After the Supreme Court's ruling, Mrs. Gandhi emerged from her New Delhi home to speak to a jubilant crowd of her supporters. "In joy and sorrow you have always been with me," she said, denouncing her opponents as "those who started the trouble." The Prime Minister gave no clue as to what she would do next. Unquestionably, she will push ahead on the ambitious social and economic reforms inaugurated during the emergency (TIME, Oct. 27). Some Indians were hopeful that, with the court case behind her, Mrs. Gandhi would now feel strong enough to relax the emergency decrees, free the estimated 20,000 people still held without trial, dissolve Parliament and call for new elections for next spring—which she would almost certainly win.



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- **Chief Justice John Marshall**, who once defined judicial distinction as "the ability to look a lawyer straight in the eyes for two hours and not hear a damned word he says."

- **Bella Lockwood**, the first woman to appear on a presidential ballot, who called for "domestic insurrection" to win the vote for women.

- **Rough Rider Teddy Roosevelt**, whose only fear during the battle for San Juan Hill was that he might lose his glasses (so he carried 12 extra pairs).

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Both dramatic events, who joined the stars at the top of the flag on burning Washington, December, which he led on the defense, under the "stars and stripes"

A British cartoon, showing President James Madison being



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MEDICINE

Franco's Final Battle

Few people admire a fighter more than the Spanish, who prize *la valentía y el coraje* (valor and mettle). This is why even his foes voiced respect for Generalissimo Francisco Franco last week. Three-and-a-half weeks ago, Spain's frail, 82-year-old Caudillo suffered a heart attack that would probably have killed most men. Yet neither that nor a chain reaction of complications that followed broke the dictator's grip on life. Franco's physicians and the Spaniards who gathered outside the Pardo Palace to pray or wait had no doubts about the outcome of the autocrat's last battle. But all agreed that, in high Spanish style, he was waging a heroic fight.

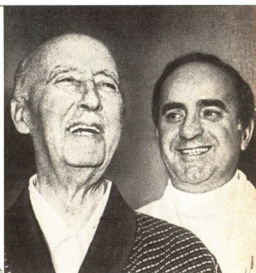
The last battle began in mid-October when Franco left a Cabinet meeting with what his doctors described as a mild flu. Then, when Franco canceled several meetings, rumors began to churn. Finally, to quash talk that he had died, palace spokesmen admitted that he had suffered a heart attack.

From then on, Franco's condition worsened. Within two days doctors confirmed that the dictator was suffering from congestive heart failure, the lessening ability of his weakened heart to pump blood. Next, he showed signs of pulmonary edema, the accumulation of fluid in the tiny air sacs of the lungs. Then, reported the doctors, Franco, who remained conscious, began to hemorrhage, or bleed, internally and to suffer from both a loss of intestinal activity and ascites, an accumulation of fluid in the peritoneal cavity.

Throughout the next week, Franco alternately rallied and faded closer to death. Then last week the doctors decided to act. With no choice and hoping that *el Caudillo* was strong enough to withstand surgery, they had him wheeled from his bedroom to the infirmary of his personal guard's barracks, 200 yards from the palace, for an attempt to halt the massive internal hemorrhaging. In a three-hour operation, Dr. Manuel Hidalgo Huerta, an old friend, removed one bleeding ulcer from the wall of Franco's stomach and tied a large gastric artery that carries blood to the stomach wall. Franco was also given two gallons of blood, more than replacing his entire blood volume.

Physical Capital. Franco, whose chief doctor put the odds against his survival at 100 to 1, withstood the operation well and seemed to show signs of recovery. But by mid-week he sustained yet another series of setbacks. Phlebitis, a vein inflammation that almost killed him last year, developed in his left thigh. Then in a reaction to the various physical breakdowns in his system, Franco's kidneys failed, and toxins began building up in his blood.

Franco's doctors, who numbered 26, placed him on a kidney dialysis machine, which removed the toxins. At week's end they rushed him back into the hospital to remove at least 80% of his stomach to halt recurrent hemorrhaging. But beyond that, there was little that the physicians could do for the rapidly failing dictator except administer digitalis, a commonly used heart-stimulant, to try to overcome his car-



FRANCO & DR. HIDALGO HUERTA IN 1974
A fight in high Spanish style.

diac congestion, and antibiotics, to help fight infection. Anticoagulants, which would normally be given to counteract Franco's phlebitis, were probably ruled out because of his internal hemorrhaging. Diuretics, which would help him pass off excess fluids, would not be effective because of his kidney failure.

In the end, then, all that kept Franco alive was his stubborn determination. The Franco family has a history of longevity (Franco's brother Nicolás is 84; his sister Pilar 81; his father, a navy officer, died at age 86). Most, however, attributed the old soldier's survival to his own qualities. "Franco is one of those people who have a strong will to live," said one physician. "He's accumulated a lot of physical capital over the years, and that is what has been keeping him going." But, added the doctor, "right now I'd say he's living on his rents."

Invitation to the Dance

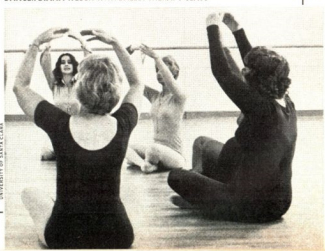
Wounded not only physically but also psychologically by a mastectomy, or removal of a cancerous breast, women who have undergone the operation often withdraw into inactivity and self-pity. But a dozen Californians who have gone through mastectomies have a livelier outlook on life. Thanks to a program of dance therapy developed by Diana Welch, 41, an artist-in-residence at the University of Santa Clara, they have been able to take advantage of the graceful, flowing action of classical ballet to regain fuller use of arms whose movements had been limited by the scarring produced by their operations. In the process, they also regain their self-esteem.

The therapy program, now one year old, was developed by Dancer Welch after she learned that the mother of one of her students was having difficulty adjusting to her mastectomy. The program has won the endorsement of doctors, physical therapists and the American Cancer Society. But its strongest supporters are its direct beneficiaries. The women, all between the ages of 32 and 64, meet for an hour and a half each week in Welch's airy studio to practice pliés and ronds de jambe, and to share their experiences.

"My arm seemed frozen and I felt ugly," recalls Mrs. Virginia Carmody, 50. At her first class, she says, "my arm hurt so badly that I yelled when someone touched it." The ex-

ercises, however, quickly overcame her problems. "After two weeks I had no pain," says Mrs. Carmody. After five months, she had mastered ballet's fifth position, in which the arms arch over the head. The accomplishment is impressive. Many would-be dancers who have not had mastectomies find the fifth position formidable.

DANCER DIANA WELCH WITH BALLET THERAPY CLASS



"I'm on my own and have to worry about paying my rent every month," explains **Kitty Bruce**, 20, who has filed suit against the biographers of her late father, Comedian **Lenny Bruce**. Claiming copyright infringement, unfair trade practice and appropriation of Bruce's name and likeness, Kitty wants \$11 million from the makers of the movie *Lenny*

and another \$4 million from Authors **Albert Goldman** and **Lawrence Schiller** and the publishers of *Ladies and Gentlemen, Lenny Bruce!* Why file suit now? "So I'll be able to pay my bills for the rest of my life."

Facing a life term in prison if convicted of the attempted assassination of **President Ford** in September, **Lynette ("Squeaky") Fromme**, 27, took one step deeper into trouble last week. As U.S. Attorney **Dwayne Keyes** began his opening statement to the jury of six men and six women in Sacramento, Fromme, who had decided to act as her own counsel, suddenly stood up and demanded the right to bring her mentor, convicted Murderer **Charles Manson**, into court as a witness. "Manson and our family are my own heartbeat," said she. "I can't go to trial unless they are allowed to speak. Lives will be lost. It's gonna get bloody." District Court Judge **Thomas MacBride** ejected Fromme from the courtroom and reappointed as her counsel **John Virgo**, the attorney Fromme had fired just three days earlier. While **Keyes** resumed his statement, Fromme watched her trial proceed on a closed-circuit TV from a nearby holding cell.

He is the Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall and now, says the *London Evening Standard*, the "Show Biz Prince." As president of the Lord's Taverners, an association of charity-minded English entertainers, **Prince Charles** doffed his royal decorum last week and took a turn on the boards during the Taverners' silver jubilee at London's Grosvenor House. Then, af-

ter mingling with the ball's 1,300 guests until 2 a.m., the Prince returned to his workaday world at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich.

For a while it looked like old times at the jewelry store for **Liz Taylor** and **Richard Burton**. Fresh from their honeymoon in Botswana, the pair stopped off in Johannesburg, South Africa, where Dick picked out a 72-diamond wedding band for his beloved, as well as a platinum and multi-diamond dress ring worth close to \$1 million. Liz, however, announced that she was "deeply moved by Richard's gesture of giving me the ring" but just couldn't accept such an "extravagant thought." Instead, she said, she and Burton had agreed to use the money to build a hospital in Katsane, the northern Botswana village where they were remarried last month. "The people there need a clinic badly, and I certainly don't need another ring," said Taylor. Well, maybe just one more. She did agree to keep the wedding band.

"I had to sit in the tub all day long," said ex-Model **Marisa Berenson**, 28, as she recalled her difficulties with 18th century plumbing in **Stanley Kubrick's** new film *Barry Lyndon*. The movie, based on William Thackeray's novel *The Luck of Barry Lyndon*, features **Ryan O'Neal** as a young Irish rogue looking for wealth and Marisa as the countess who supplies it by marrying him. The



KITTY BRUCE BELTS OUT A LAWSUIT

THE "SHOW BIZ PRINCE" TAKES TO THE STAGE AT GROSVENOR HOUSE IN LONDON



JACOB WATCHES & JOY DANCES

PEOPLE



MARISA MUES IN THE BATH

bathtub, where she goes to brood after catching Ryan flirting with another girl, proved to be as annoying as it was authentic. "They had to keep filling it with hot water. And since there was no plug, they had a lot of pipes carrying water out of the room." Now recovered from the pink-and-wrinkled look, Berenson sees no faults in the movie at least. It is, she gushes, "very romantic."

"You can use me as a prop, but I won't perform," insisted New York Senator **Jacob Javits**, 71, agreeing to pose for photographers with Daughter **Joy**, 27. Javits, who had come to Boston's Charles Playhouse to see his offspring sing and dance in the stage musical *Diamond Studs*, managed to keep his senatorial cool while Joy pranced about in bowler hat and tights. Despite Javits' solemnity in front of the cameras, Joy attributed her vocation to Papa's own love of fancy footwork. Said she: "He's a great ballroom dancer."

Those beefy chorines in numbered jerseys are really Los Angeles Rams **Cody Jones**, **Fred Dryer**, **Bob Klein**, **Merlin Olsen**, **Larry Brooks**, **Tom Mack**, **Bill Nelson** and **Jack Youngblood**. The players are holding hands because they are rehearsing a high-kick production number with Dancer **Cissie Wellman Donner**, all for the sake of a Nov. 19 multiple sclerosis fund-raising benefit in L.A. Come show time, the boys will look even more terpsichorean, according to Costumer **Barbara Zelin**. Besides pink tutus, "the fellows will wear low-cut white tank tops with their numbers in



DANCE INSTRUCTOR DONNER COACHES A CHORUS LINE OF LOS ANGELES RAMS



DAVIES & HEARST IN 1936; BOULTING & DE NIRO IN *THE LAST TYCOON*

pink sequins, white tights to show off their legs—and tennis shoes. We haven't seen any ballet slippers in their size."

Industrialist **Howard Hughes** "was just a big, awkward, overgrown country boy" in the late 1920s. **Charlie Chaplin** was stubborn, arbitrary, and once bet \$100 that "talkies" would never last in Hollywood. Both were part of the galaxy that surrounded Actress **Marion Davies** during her 32-year reign as mistress to Newspaper Tycoon **William Randolph Hearst**. Davies' recollections, which were tape-recorded in 1951 but locked up until her death a decade later at 64, were only recently rediscovered and published as a memoir entitled *The Times We Had*. Hearst, who was 58 when he discovered Marion as a chorus girl of 16, was "the kindest, most innocent, naive person you'd ever want to meet." Despite the millions he spent on his 300,000-acre estate at San Simeon in California, he provided his guests with paper napkins (he considered them more sanitary than linen). Few seemed to mind, including **Calvin Coolidge**, who once dropped by for a visit after retir-

ing from politics. Davies impishly served the teetotaling former President tokay wine, while assuring him that it was non-alcoholic. "He started talking at dinner, and kept on drinking the tokay," she recalled. Said the not-so-silent Cal: "Best darned nonalcoholic drink I ever drank in my life."

Flashbulbs pop, the limousine doors open, and out step tuxedoed Actor **Robert De Niro** and a white-gowned **Ingrid Boulting**. The big moment was staged for *The Last Tycoon*, a Hollywood version of **F. Scott Fitzgerald's** novel about Hollywood. "It's a period I've never been into before," observed De Niro, who was born in 1944 and portrays Hollywood Mogul **Monroe Stahr** in the movie. "Thanks to this scene, I suddenly understand all the glamour of the '30s. I began to feel it emotionally for the first time." Even so, De Niro's emotional entrance will scarcely be seen at all by viewers of *Tycoon*: its only purpose was to provide a single photograph of the dressed-up couple to be framed and used as one of the movie's props. Fitzgerald would have been pleased at the extravagance.



Patty's Prosecutor

Down by the bay, San Francisco's Marina Green was filled with people shaking off the damp of the past few rainy weeks. There were joggers, dog walkers, Frisbee flingers and one lanky gentleman intently reading on the grass. No one bothered to peer over his shoulder. And that was just as well. James Louis Browning Jr., 42, the U.S. Attorney prosecuting both Sara Jane Moore and Patty Hearst, was studying a document recovered from the house where Patty was captured. Why bring such sensitive reading to the park? "Well, I wanted to get some sun," said Browning. "I haven't got much recently."

Jim Browning is unlikely to get much of a suntan as he juggles the two most important cases of his 14-year career as a prosecutor. The first of these—the charge that Hearst was a willing participant in the Symbionese Liberation Army bank robbery in San Francisco—brought Browning into court last week against famed Defense Lawyer F. Lee Bailey. It was an encounter to whet courthouse appetites. "Browning versus Bailey?" remarked a San Francisco attorney. "The only question is what school Patty will enroll in next year. Bailey will eat him up."

First Round. In his light purple suit, Browning proved at least a sartorial match for Bailey (in a blue pinstripe). And as the two sparred cordially over three psychiatric reports from court-appointed experts, Browning easily held his own. Bailey emphasized that one report said Patty had experienced "traumatic neurosis" and was suffering a "di-

minished ability" to cooperate with her attorneys. Even so, Browning countered, the report did not find Patty mentally incompetent. After three days of reflection, Judge Oliver Carter ruled that Patty was indeed competent and ordered her arraigned this week.

So, despite predictions, the first round went to Browning, who has not tried a case since he became U.S. Attorney more than five years ago. "I don't think you forget how to try cases," he says of his detractors. "It's not like being an athlete where your muscles get flabby after five years."

Twelve-Hour Days. Browning says he has wanted to be a lawyer since he was six. At San Francisco's Hastings College of Law, he stood near the top of his class for the first year, then spent his final two years trying to keep academically afloat while he worked in a local law firm. After a stint as a tax editor for a legal publishing firm, he joined the San Mateo County district attorney's office in 1961. As chief trial deputy, Browning prosecuted 189 cases ranging from robbery to murder. In 1970, he was appointed U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of California.

Critics denigrate Browning's work as a federal prosecutor because he has not tried any major cases. Much of his time has been spent prosecuting hundreds of draft evaders and a few black radicals. Browning answers that there have not been any very dramatic crimes, and anyway his role is primarily administrative. To prepare for Patty Hearst, though, he has been forcing himself and his staff through twelve-hour days devoted to the study of thousands of pages of S.L.A. and FBI documents.

Prosecutors are expected to argue that Patty willingly took part in the bank job, a contention she herself supported in a taped message after the raid. Bailey has already said that he will try to prove that Patty was under duress. But his opponent remains confident. "Sure there's pressure in this case," says Browning. "But U.S. Attorneys can't really make it or break it on any one case, unless they really screw it up. And that's not going to happen."

Dead or Alive?

On a calm spring evening seven years ago, Edward Michaels, 68, a retired caterer in the Chicago suburb of Northlake, Ill., finished his chop suey dinner and told his family he was going out for a walk. He never returned.

The police could not find him, and neither could a private-detective agency. Helen Michaels, who has two teenage children, eventually went to the Social Security Administration to collect her husband's back social security payments. But the SSA told Mrs. Michaels



HELEN MICHAELS & HUSBAND
Not getting along.

that the money could not be transferred until her husband was accounted for. If there was still no sign of him seven years after his disappearance, the SSA said, she could ask a court to declare him dead. Then she would be eligible to collect his checks and receive widow's benefits.

Signed Document. Last April, having waited the proper time, Mrs. Michaels took her case to a Chicago judge who declared Michaels dead. Mrs. Michaels then returned to the SSA office to get her money. After a two-month delay, an SSA official told her: "Your husband is alive. That's all I can tell you right now." Mrs. Michaels demanded to know more. The SSA refused, citing HEW section 1306 that forbids anyone to look into anyone else's personal file. Mrs. Michaels was sent a form letter refusing any claim for her husband's benefits, which are now \$45.30 a month, "because evidence indicates he is not deceased."

Thus the SSA and Helen Michaels confronted an increasingly bewildering bureaucratic dilemma: How do Government agencies reconcile the Freedom of Information Act with the traditional laws protecting personal privacy? Last week Mrs. Michaels was back in court to demand that the SSA prove that her husband is alive. In reply, Government attorneys insisted that the SSA could not reveal any information about him.

But at the urging of the judge, attorneys cited yet another law allowing a court to request information on a parent when support of minors is at issue. The SSA then produced a recently signed document in which Michaels said he departed because he was not getting along with his wife. "Apparently he wants to be left alone," says Mrs. Michaels' lawyer. Obviously, but Helen Michaels wants to find her husband—and demand separate support.



PATTY HEARST & PROSECUTOR BROWNING
Will F. Lee Bailey eat him up?

THE SEXES

End of an ERA?

The language seemed innocuous enough: "Equality of rights under law shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex." But in recent months, *ad hoc* groups of traditionalist women sprang up in New York and New Jersey to denounce the proposed state equal rights amendments as anti-marriage, anti-family and likely to lead to unisex toilets. Pamphlets emblazoned with the inevitable picture of the gaping shark from *Jaws* warned that equal rights for women could mean the "ruination of America," and lead to homosexual marriages, loss of widows' benefits and the mass drafting of women into the U.S. armed forces. The impassioned campaign caught on. Last week the state equal rights amendments went down to defeat, narrowly in New Jersey, by more than 400,000 votes (out of a total of 3.1 million) in New York.

Broad Phrasing. The outcome stunned feminists. Both states had voted quickly to ratify the federal Equal Rights Amendment in 1972, and were expected to pass interim state versions just as handily. "It's hard to believe and harder to accept," said Brooklyn Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman. New York Lieutenant Governor Mary Anne Krupsak blamed "the forces of confusion."

Actually, the brevity and broad phrasing of the amendments seemed to feed suspicions of hidden meanings. Said State Senator Karen Burstein: "If someone came away believing there was even a 1-in-100 chance of unisex toilets, then she'd vote against ERA." Columbia Law

Professor Ruth Ginsburg added: "A lot of women don't want to buy anything they don't know. It's fear of change." Yet Professor Ginsburg concedes that no one really knows the full implications of the amendments. Many divorced women with good jobs or other income undoubtedly would lose alimony rights, and the nearly automatic assignment of child custody to the divorced mother would end. More important, anti-ERA women believe that laws promoting the economic independence of women would penalize nonworking mothers and undermine the traditional family. Says Annette Stern, head of New York's Operation Wake Up: "The Equal Rights Amendment could be the turning point of whether family life, as we know it, will survive." Indeed, the referendum took on the trappings of a mo-

rality play pitting housewife against feminist. "The women's movement did a lot of good things in the '60s," said Ciel Herman, a Levittown, N.Y., housewife who opposed ERA, "but they neglected the majority of women who are homemakers and mothers. I don't want all women who stand by the sink to be taken out of the textbooks."

Whether or not last week's vote reflected an antifeminist backlash, both sides agreed that it dimmed hopes for passage of the federal Equal Rights Amendment by the March 1979 deadline. Thirty-four of the required 38 states have ratified the 1972 amendment, but the early momentum is gone. Twenty-two state legislatures ratified it the first

BETTY LANE



KRUPSAK CONSOLES N.Y. STATE SENATOR KAREN BURSTEIN
A revolt by "women who stand by the sink."

year, eight in 1973, three in 1974. So far this year, only one state—North Dakota—has approved ERA. Nebraska and Tennessee have voted to rescind their earlier approval, though the legal status of their action is dubious. Congress has the authority to disregard such votes and has done so once in the past. Still, both sides in the ERA struggle expect the issue to reach the Supreme Court. The victorious anti-ERA forces in New York and New Jersey are already gearing up for campaigns to revoke ratification. More important, some feminists now fear that their setback may produce a national split on ERA along liberal-conservative lines. So far, conservative politicians have not seen much political potential in opposing equal rights for women. After last week's emotional voting, they may.

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Montezuma Manna

"Lord God, we don't know why in Your wisdom, You been so doggone good to us. The Chinees don't have chili, ever. The Frenchmens is left out. The Rooshians don't know no more about chili than a hog does about a sidesaddle. Even the Meskins don't get a good whiff of it unless they stay around here. Chili eaters is some of Your chosen people..."

—Bones Hooks

One whiff of the stuff can turn contemporary chili aficionados as lyrical as the 19th century chuck-wagon cook. To the true believer, a sizzling *chile con carne* is manna from Montezuma, a concoction of beef, green peppers, herbs and other combustibles with an aroma, as the International Chili Society puts it, that "should generate rapture akin to a lover's kiss." As hot as the dish are the arguments that simmer around its preparation.

KATHRYN GRAYSON & MISS CHILI PEPPER



aration. Should a true chili include beans? Tomatoes? Corn meal? Onions? Is beef the best *carne*? How many hours—or days—should it be cooked?

At two separate "international chili cook-offs" this month—one held in Texas, the other in southern California—the "dish that won the West" inspired more culinary variations and impassioned clains than there are spines on a cactus. Those who cater to chili addicts are as contentious as their customers, but they agree on at least one fact: the growing and packaging of peppers and chili products have become a multimillion-dollar industry.

Folk Foods. One reason for the diversity of recipes is that chili, like most folk foods, started out as an *ad hoc* combination of ingredients. For the range-riding cooks who invented it, chili consisted of scrawny beef—whose dubious flavor was masked by peppers and spices—and whatever else was around. In any case, it makes a nourishing dish. Roy M. Nakayama, 53, a New Mexico State University horticulturist who has studied peppers for 20 years and eats them three times a day, points out, "Chilis are rich in vitamins A and C. As antioxidants they also help preserve the meat and break down the fibers." Chili buffs claim the peppers can cure anything from fallen arches to falling hair.

At the California jamboree, attended by 15,000 people at the site of an old gold mine 90 miles north of Los Angeles, chili heads, as fanciers call them,

CALIFORNIA WINNER JOE DEFRATES



stirred up *chile con possum*, rabbit, chicken, pork, rattlesnake, ham hocks, jerky and Portuguese sausage. An Arizona chef used fillet of road runner; the Tennessee champion boasted of his raccoon. The Hawaiian contingent made its stock (it said) from a "tired Samoan fighting cock." Californian and Texan experts used some 40 varieties of chili peppers, ranging from the relatively mild Big Jim to a Tahitian product that would blow the bow off the *Bounty*. For added flavoring, rival chili heads stirred in dried armadillo blood, tequila, beer and, it was reported, marijuana. Singer Kathryn Grayson's "All-American chili" incorporated meatballs, Italian-style. The ingredients used by Girl Scout Troop 256 from Odessa, Texas, were "tender love and affection and a pinch of paprika."

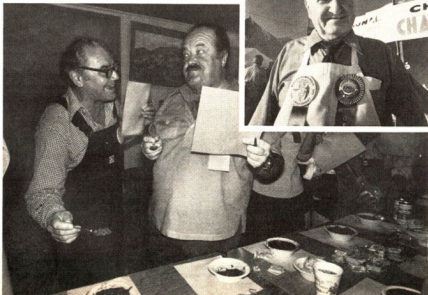
None of the contestants used beans. "That," sniffed one chili head, "would be like mixing cognac and Dr. Pepper." In fact, the simplest recipe proved best in the view of a panel of judges that included Actors Ernest Borgnine, William Conrad and McCulloch Oil President C.V. Wood, retired, undefeated world chili champ Joe DeFrates, 67, of Springfield, Ill., winner of the California cook-off, concocted his "horse-and-buggy" chili from lean beef, peppers and his own chili powder. The Texas champion, Susie Watson of Houston, used a similar recipe, plus an arcane spice derived from pine cones. Even in Texas, none of the chili heads used the "greaseless" Pederalres River recipe favored by Lyndon Johnson. "L.B.J.'s stuff," growled an oldtimer, "was just low-torque beef gruel."

A Tub That Is Forever

The costliest Christmas gift being offered this year may be a bathtub. The old-fashioned oval model is priced by Sakowitz, the Houston department store, at \$118,335.000 (sales tax extra). But then, the tub is forever: it is filled with diamonds—enough, the holiday catalogue promises, "to cover an average female adult up to the neck."

In its first bodacious attempt to out-Neiman Marcus, Sakowitz last year offered a pricey choice of lessons from top pros in just about every sport or hobby the loved one might care to cultivate. But such instructional experiences as a day's guitar lessons with José Feliciano (\$14,500) found no takers. Obviously the price was too low or the gift too evanescent, so this year's catalogue is more hardware-oriented. A French "wine chateau," for example, is going begging for \$875,000. Another tempting bauble is a 63-acre Caribbean island 25 miles south of Miami, priced at \$2,250,000. The buyer may charge the island to his Sakowitz credit card.

ERNEST BORGNIEN & WILLIAM CONRAD



"The trick of Desert Sailing on the Baja's snow-white sands is not to end up black and blue!"

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"... when I shouted to Jim, 'Throw your weight on my side!' Defying gravity and the gusting winds, we managed to get upright. From then on, it was smooth sailing."



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Feet First

Brooding before a video-tape machine, a cigarette drooping from his mouth, Eliot Feld was working and reworking the choreography of his 1972 ballet of Stravinsky's *A Soldier's Tale*. Two dancers stood by. Finally, Feld snapped off the TV and nodded to the pianist. Spinning out a series of steps, he recited, "*Passé, chassé, saut de basque*, heel, toe." On the next run-through, he renamed the steps: "Strength, will, talent, musicality, perseverance, time."

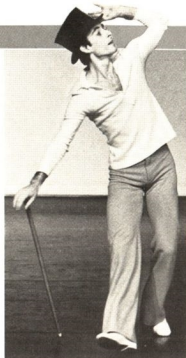
Feld has built a career on those six nouns. His dance company's current Manhattan season is S.R.O. and has been extended. At 33, with 22 ballets to his credit, Feld has entered the golden circle of U.S. classical choreographers. Only George Balanchine and Jerome Robbins stand ahead of him.

In 1967 he burst upon the scene with *Harbinger*. He was only 24, a soloist at the American Ballet Theater. The son of a Brooklyn lawyer, he had been dancing since he was twelve. *Harbinger* is a young man's work—brisk, sunny and humorous. In the ballet world, it kicked up the same sort of commotion caused 23 years earlier by *Fancy Free*. Jerome Robbins' first success.

Extravagant Bluster. For a time, however, it looked as if Feld could think only with his feet. A year after his triumph he left ABT with extravagant bluster. Said he: "They wouldn't make me director of the company, they wouldn't give me the whole company to do with what I like." That outburst was enough to make critics write off Feld with a hauteur that resembled his own. Unrepentant, he set up shop as the American Ballet Company, but ran out of money within two years. He had just about decided to give up choreography when the Rockefeller Foundation offered to be his angel. New York Shakespeare Festival Director Joseph Papp volunteered free space at the Estelle Newman Theater in downtown Manhattan. Eighteen months ago, the new Eliot Feld Company opened for business.

With reasonable security, he has worked on building his repertory selectively. This fall's new works, *Excursions*, a lusty frontier-style piece, and *Mazurka*, to Chopin's music, are his most popular premieres since his 1969 ballroom ballet, *Intermezzo*. *Mazurka* is technically ferocious. But, says Feld, "with its angular line and hot and cold jazz rhythms, the ballet is like caviar."

Fortunately, he has some excellent dancers taking on his



ELIOT FELD PERFORMING IN NEW YORK
Spinning out a series of steps.

flights of ferocity. "I believe in good dancers, better dancers and great dancers," he says. Like Balanchine, he wants a starless troupe, but whether he likes it or not, Christine Sarry easily stands out. As the mercurial waif of *Excursions* or the buoyant ballerina of *Mazurka*, she is fleet-spirited and light-legged.

Concealed virtuosity is a Feld hallmark. To the ordinary eye, double turns tucked into simple curves of movement spring up casually from the current of music. Girls rarely hurtle through the air, rather they float by like Chagall fig-

ures. Then, in a sudden mid-air reverse, they switch directions altogether.

In the Balanchine-Robbins manner, the ballets are storyless. Feld plots feelings, not fairytales, and gives them a friendly arms-around-the-waist folksiness. Detractors sometimes complain his work resembles that of Robbins. Feld claims to have seen only 20 to 30 ballets in his life. "I'm a doer, not an audience. When I like what I see," he admits, "I find it very threatening." He finds all his inspiration in music: one of his brightest moments occurred when he found he had enough money to open a charge account at a record store.

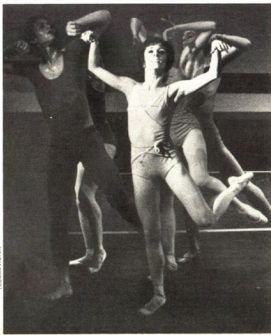
As a teen-ager, Feld was a voracious reader, but he has given up books. "To a certain extent what shaped me is over," he reflects. "Before, everything was coming in. Now everything is going out." There is no limit to his vision: "Balanchine represented in 1940 what I represent now. He succeeded. I may not. Now I'm here to build."

The Masked Man

As the small private plane flew over Providence en route to Boston, the pilot turned on his FM radio and heard the announcement for an upcoming concert. Wow! He immediately landed the plane, took a taxi downtown and bought a pair of tickets. Then he resumed his flight. Standing in line at a supermarket in Plymouth, Mass., a young couple was given a handbill bearing similar news. Wow! They left their cart where it was and dashed downtown to buy tickets. And so it went as the word spread. "Is he really coming?" asked a teen-age girl at the ticket window.

Bob Dylan was really coming. As elusive and provocative as ever, the onetime prophet of protest has launched his first road tour in almost two years. It is not a complete surprise: like most rock stars on the concert circuit, Dylan happens to have a new single, *Hurricane*, just out and an album on the way. But his tour is different. It began, of all places, in Plymouth, where the Pilgrims settled, and it quickly became an oddly timeless journey: a rambling, almost casual camper and bus tour of college towns and blue-collar community halls. Ticket sales for such places as Waterbury, Conn., Durham, N.H., and Niagara Falls were announced five days before the event and then only by handbills. "The idea," says Dylan's boyhood friend Louis Kemp, 33, who is managing the tour, "is to go from town to town, do whatever the group

CHRISTINE SARRY DANCING IN THE PREMIERE OF EXCURSIONS





BOB DYLAN IN MUFTI AT PLYMOUTH, MASS.
The fire is burning again.

wants, whenever they want, wherever they want."

The "group" is a comfortable array of friends, mostly old with a few new—Folksinger Joan Baez, ex-Byrd Roger McGuinn, Nashville Star Ronnee Blakley and even Poet Allen Ginsberg. "We were all very close," Dylan told TIME Correspondent James Willwerth. "We had this fire going ten years ago, and now we've got it burning again."

MUSIC & DANCE

Yes indeed. In Plymouth, after a half-hour warmup by the folksy, dun-gareed, unnamed back-up band, a figure became distinguishable at stage rear. It was a masked man in a gray cowboy hat and black leather jacket, looking slender and spindly, picking his way cautiously forward through the microphones and cables. He gave his guitar a few licks and then, from behind the mask, started singing. The applause began to grow. After a pulsating rendition of an old favorite, *It Ain't Me, Babe*, he pulled back the mask to reveal the familiar ironic smile and hawk's eyes of the single most influential poet of the entire rock era. The crowd went wild.

Free and Loose. It became apparent that Dylan, now 34, has not been this free and loose since the days when he was putting folk rock on the map, way back in 1965. He seemed most carefree when he and Baez joined to sing such old Dylan classics as *Blowin' in the Wind* and *I Shall Be Released*. And why not? As they put their heads together in front of the mike, Joan would put her arm around Bob, mop his brow, kiss his cheek. Most important were several new songs that indicate that the creative fires may be burning brighter than in years. *Sarah* is the latest in a series of complaints about women. This one is especially poignant since it is addressed to Dylan's wife of ten years. The Dylans, who have five children, are said to have a rocky

marriage. Dylan's lament is deep and haunting:

*Sarah, Sarah
What made you change your mind
Sarah, Sarah
So easy to look at
So hard to define*

Hurricane is the story of the former middleweight contender Rubin ("Hurricane") Carter, who many feel was unjustly convicted and imprisoned 8½ years ago for a triple killing in New Jersey. The song has punch and the kind of outrage that characterized Dylan's 1971 ballad *George Jackson*.

Dylan's last tour in January and February 1974 with The Band had its hysteria, excitement and genuine high musicality, but Dylan apparently tired quickly of the hoopla of big-city auditorium life. "They divide your time too much," he says. "They shuffle you around, wind you up, put you on stage and turn you on." This is a more intimate occasion, although Dylan has security men around him and keeps his whereabouts in off-hours a secret. Arriving for concerts, he moves under guard past the awed gawkers. Still, the mood at the Dylan "camp" is easygoing and spontaneous. He even wants to scout local talent as he goes along. "Maybe there's another Bob Dylan out there," he smiles, pushing back his cowboy hat. Not likely.



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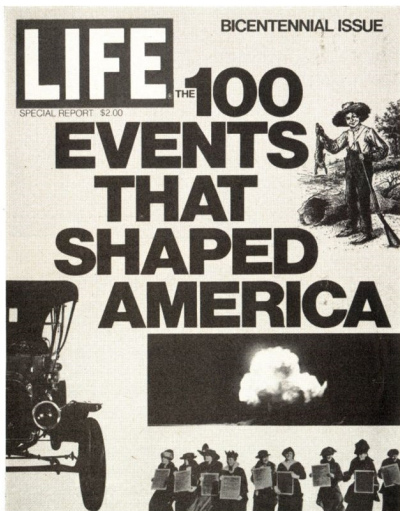
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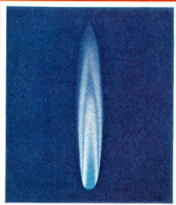
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MILESTONES

Died. Pier Paolo Pasolini, 53, maverick Italian film director, poet and novelist; after being bludgeoned with a fence post and run over by his own Alfa Romeo driven by a 17-year-old boy whom he had picked up; in Ostia, Italy. A Marxist with a nostalgia for Catholicism, and a known homosexual, Pasolini managed to rouse the wrath of Italy's Catholics and Communists alike. In 1961 his first major film, *Accattone*, drew clerical criticism for its romanticizing of pimps and prostitutes. Three years later Pasolini made *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, which angered the left with its reverence. Just before his death, he completed *The 120 Days of Sodoma*, based on a Marquis de Sade work and set in Italy's Fascist era.

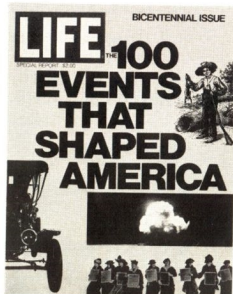
Died. John Carmel Cardinal Heenan, 70, Archbishop of Westminster and Roman Catholic Primate of England; following a heart attack; in London. Heenan spent 16 years as a parish priest in a crowded East London district before becoming Bishop of Leeds in 1951, where he continued to perform the duties of parish priest and lived among the workers. Named Archbishop of Westminster in 1963 and cardinal two years later, Heenan became leader of 4 million Roman Catholics in England and Wales.

Died. Lionel Trilling, 70, far-ranging literary critic and educator (see EDUCATION).

Died. Ernst ("Putzi") Hanfstaengl, 88, whose piano playing soothed Adolf Hitler; in Munich. Son of a German art expert, Hanfstaengl was educated at Harvard and in 1921 went back to Germany, where he later became foreign press chief of the Nazi Party. Hanfstaengl broke with Hitler in 1937, spent most of World War II in the U.S., and returned to Germany in 1946.

Died. Annette Kellerman Sullivan, 90, Australian long-distance swimmer who became one of vaudeville's international stars; of a heart attack; in Southport, Australia. Kellerman outgrew her childhood bowleggedness and developed a figure that earned her such accolades as "the form divine" and "the diving Venus." In 1907 Kellerman shocked Boston by appearing at Revere Beach wearing a skirtless one-piece bathing suit and was promptly arrested for indecent exposure. On vaudeville stages in Europe and the U.S., Kellerman dived into a glass tank from heights of 75 ft.; she also starred in aquatic movies. In 1952 Kellerman's life story received a splashy MGM treatment in the film *Million Dollar Mermaid*, which featured Esther Williams and her wardrobe of 28 one-piece bathing suits.

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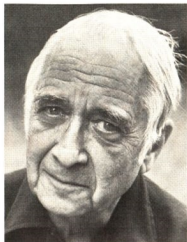


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A Sad, Solemn Sweetness

The white-haired, sunken-eyed professor wandered slowly around his Columbia University classroom leafing through a copy of James Joyce's *Dubliners*. "He lived at a little distance from his body," Lionel Trilling read aloud from the book. Then, as if discovering Joyce afresh, he fairly glowed with joy: "Marvelous phrase. Isn't that the essence of alienation?" Still wandering, he went on to observe that a character in the *Dubliners* kept a rotting apple in his desk, which reminded him that the only way Schiller could compose poetry was with an apple giving off fumes in his desk drawer. That in turn reminded the professor of the dangers of becoming too academic. "If anyone connects this rotting apple with the Fall, he will immediately lose 20 points," he said.

Lionel Trilling's humor was quiet, for he was a quiet man. When he died of cancer last week at the age of 70, those who had known and cherished him during his 44 years in the Columbia English department tried to recapture the elusive qualities of a great teacher. *Commentary* Editor Norman Podhoretz, once awed by "the witchlike precision" of Trilling's mind, said that he was "an intellectual father." Added Beat Generation Poet Allen Ginsberg: "He had a sweet heart, a sad, solemn sweetness." Columbia Professor Emeritus Jacques Barzun, who collaborated



CRITIC LIONEL TRILLING
Witchlike precision of the mind.

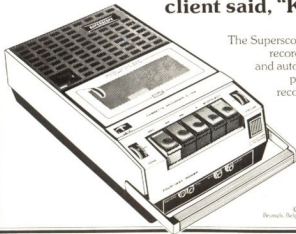
with Trilling for 36 years in a course on cultural history, admired the way "his thoughts progressed in a rational manner from beginning to end." A student who took that Barzun-Trilling course remembers most vividly the moment when some unfortunate victim cited the motto of the Order of the Garter during a class on Malthus. Said Barzun: "*Honi soit qui Malthus pense.*" Said Trilling: "*Honi soit qui mal thus puns.*"

Courtly Scholar. The son of a New York City businessman, Trilling earned both undergraduate and doctorate degrees in literature at Columbia. He joined the Columbia faculty in 1931 as an instructor of English. Two years earlier he had married Diana Rubin, also a distinguished critic, and they had one son James. As he worked toward a full professorship (in 1948 he became the first Jew to receive tenure in the English department) Trilling slowly gained the reputation of someone more than a courtly scholar. His doctoral dissertation on Matthew Arnold was published in 1939—in the heyday of the textual analyses by the New Criticism—and it restated the Arnoldian creed that "a work of literature ... has value as a criticism of life."

Trilling's first and only novel, published in 1955, was *Sabbath's Child*. It was a quiet, understated work that reflected his own life. Trilling was a man of few words, and his writing was a reflection of that. He was a man of letters, and his work was a testament to his life.

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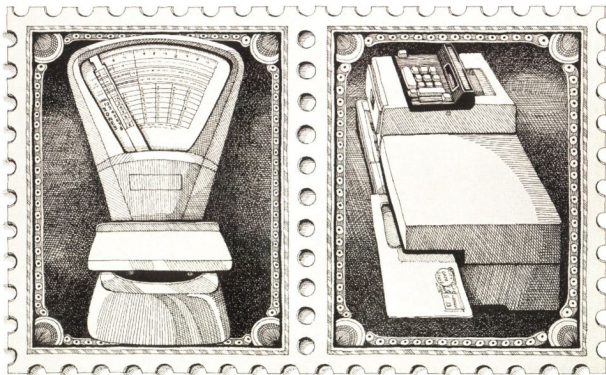
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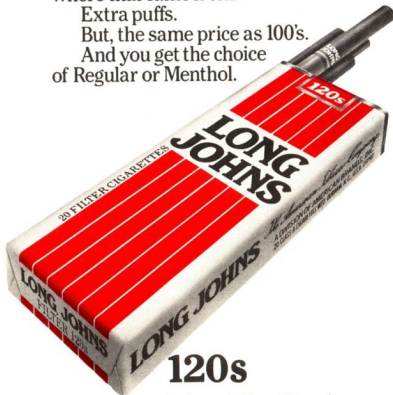
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EDUCATION

lished in 1947, made his name known in an unexpected circle—the FBI. Titled *The Middle of the Journey*, the book described the intellectual torture of a Communist in the process of quitting the party. Reviews which praised its "assurance, literacy and intelligence" aroused the interest of FBI agents investigating Whittaker Chambers' allegations of spying by State Department Official Alger Hiss. Indeed Trilling had shared a class with Chambers when both were Columbia students, and he frankly admitted fictionalizing Chambers' story in his novel. But when Hiss's lawyers asked him to testify against Chambers, he refused.

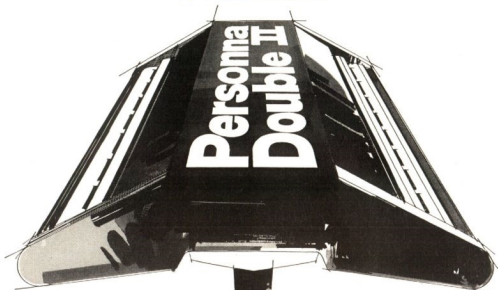
It was as a literary critic of broad erudition that Trilling achieved his greatest renown. (Notable essay collections: *The Liberal Imagination*, 1950; *The Opposing Self*, 1955.) In studies ranging from Jane Austen to Tolstoy to Orwell to Freud, he sketched a view of man struggling to assert himself against the forces of his society. In *Beyond Culture: Essays on Literature and Learning* (1965), Trilling argued that "the primary function of art and thought is to liberate the individual from the tyranny of his culture in the environmental sense and to permit him to stand beyond it in an autonomy of perception and judgment."

Historical Sense. Always apart, a little aloof, with neither an ideology nor an all-encompassing aesthetic theory, Trilling put his main emphasis on a "historical sense" in criticism. He once described his curiosity to know "what at a certain time people liked or demanded in the way of literature and for what cultural and historical reasons." Within that historical framework, he attached considerable importance to literature as a moral phenomenon. He delighted in recalling the day a student told him that George Orwell was "a virtuous man."

Such delights came less frequently as the nation's colleges moved through the storms of the '60s. Trilling spoke out bitterly against the "ideology of irrationalism" and the idea that knowledge can be attained through "intuition, inspiration, revelation." Denouncing the pressures to hire more blacks and women as professors, he complained that some groups "have not yet produced a large number of persons trained for the academic profession." In reply some younger colleagues at Columbia began to feel that Trilling's appreciation of artists was limited to restrained and ironic intellectuals like himself.

One young student, Carey Winfrey, now a TV producer, gushed to Trilling that he had "raised the essay to a level that it had not seen since Charles Lamb." Trilling thanked his young admirer, reflected for a moment, and then offered an answer that seemed a classic example of academic vanity. More likely it was another one of Trilling's dry jokes, and perhaps it was even true. Said he: "I'm not altogether certain that I haven't."

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CINEMA

Curtain Calls

THE SUNSHINE BOYS
Directed by HERBERT ROSS
Screenplay by NEIL SIMON

The Sunshine Boys, maybe vaudeville's most famous comedy team, have been officially split up for eleven years. Willy Clark (Walter Matthau) ascribes the mutual animosity to "artistic differences." Self-preservation might be closer to the mark.

Clark claims his ex-partner Al Lewis (George Burns) is tops as a comic: "As an actor no one could touch him. As a human being, no one would want to." On his part, Lewis claims that Clark "always took the jokes too seriously." From the observable evidence, there is considerable justice to all charges. There is not a single thing about Clark that could be considered lovable; tolerable would be stretching things a bit. Auditioning for a potato chip commercial, Clark insults the director and the product. Then he calls up Ben (Richard Benjamin), his nephew as well as his agent, to rail about not getting the job.

But for posterity and residual affection as well as his 10% commission, Ben persists in trying to get his Uncle Willy to team up with Al Lewis just one last time. Lewis is really no easier to take than Clark. He is just a little quieter about it. At the first rehearsal the partners spar a little (Clark: "I heard your blood doesn't circulate." Lewis: "It circulates—not everywhere, but it circulates."), then get right down to the acrimony at hand. Clark tries to modify their most famous sketch. Lewis starts to act in all the ways Clark loved to hate: he spits and sprays on his way to a punch line; to make a point or a joke, he jabs his partner in the chest, using his finger like an inverted exclamation mark. Is this reunion really worth it?

The answer, all the way round, is not really. Neil Simon has adapted the movie from his play, and it is business pretty much as usual. Director Herbert Ross (*Funny Lady*) has managed the proceedings reasonably well, which means making the movie look as little as possible like an open-air Broadway performance. Simon has a palpable fondness for his two antagonists, but he has attempted nothing distinctive in the script. So if his virtues remain constant—smooth craft, mild amusement—so do his failings. His work all seems replace-

able, interchangeable, like those inexpensive lighters that work every time and are not meant to last. Immediate results are enough: when they burn out, just throw them away and get another.

Walter Matthau, decked out in some excellent old-duffer makeup by Dick Smith (of *The Godfather*), is at some pains to be cute while he is at his most irascible. His portrait of Willy is too self-conscious, too deliberately insinuating. But George Burns, rasping and



GEORGE BURNS & WALTER MATTHAU IN *SUNSHINE BOYS*
Hackles and laughter in equal measure.

lively-eyed, makes a fine Al. Burns, 79, has always been the foremost purveyor of the sideways insult that comes in low and inside before it hits the mark. He has added just for the occasion a diabolical ingenuousness, which can raise hackles and laughter in equal, generous measure.

Jay Cocks

Alas Alice

BLACK MOON
Directed by LOUIS MALLE
Screenplay by LOUIS MALLE,
GHISLAINE UHRY and JOYCE BUNUEL

A young girl (Cathryn Harrison), blonde, British, with the premature and slightly tentative poise of adolescence, drives down a highway through deserted countryside. In the distance, there is the sound of artillery.

Soon after, her small orange car is stopped by an army unit. Men in camouflage suits are lining up women, dressed, similarly, as soldiers. The men slaughter the women with machine-gun

CINEMA

fire. The young girl drives wildly off the road and across country.

She comes, eventually, to a large, isolated house. There is food cooking and, over in the corner, a pig seems to be talking to her. This is not entirely surprising. Moments before, the girl had seen a unicorn in the garden.

Across the kitchen table, almost out of reach, is a large glass of milk that the girl can hardly hold. Upstairs, there is an old woman (Theresa Giehse), an invalid who tells the girl, "You have a very vivid imagination." After a while the old woman dies, but is brought back to life by a young man (Joe Dallesandro) who holds a mirror in front of her face. Observing all this, the young girl mentions in passing that "all is illusion."

Dream Pastiche. The thought is small comfort, and less justification. Louis Malle, director of *Lacombe, Lucien* and *The Fire Within*, is attempting in *Black Moon* some manner of dream pastiche, a symbolic fantasy of adolescence. The movie is like the ragged end of a halfhearted parlor game played by Freud and Lewis Carroll on a slow summer evening. The young girl's appearance and her slightly prissy ingenuousness come from the Alice books. So do the controlled flights of strangeness. Carroll's wit is lacking, however, and his sense of wonder.

Black Moon has the clinical, slightly oppressive tone of dream data being recorded and examined. Freudian symbolism proliferates. The war between the sexes suggests the girl's adolescent turmoil over her own sexual identity. One notes—one can hardly avoid—the preponderance of traditional Freudian sexual metaphors: snakes, clocks, the horn of the unicorn. Add to this the curdled maternalism of the old invalid and the nearly unreachable sustenance of that outsize glass of milk, and *Black Moon* seems like a long case study.

That is just the trouble. The movie (lovingly shot in autumnal tones by Sven Nykvist, Ingmar Bergman's cinematographer) is a clutter of notes and notions. The elaborate panoply of symbolism is never transcended, and the young girl herself remains undiscovered. If Malle had hoped to reveal her by uncovering her fantasies, he has only further obscured her, made her a prisoner of her own dream.

J.C.

Philosophy of The Bedroom

EXHIBITION

Directed by JEAN-FRANCOIS DAVY

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TIME, NOVEMBER 17, 1975

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A close-up, low-angle shot of the front of a red classic car. The car features a large, round, chrome-rimmed headlight on the left side. The body is painted a vibrant red with a custom, slightly distressed finish. A black and white racing stripe runs along the side of the hood. The car is parked on a dark, possibly wet, surface, and the background is a blurred, hazy landscape.

This much coolant added during Run.



the desert.

IN 60 DAYS.

1976 Vega Dura-Built engine is built to take it.

**The Vega Dura-Built.
An engine so durable
it carries a 5-year/
60,000-mile guarantee.**

This 5-year/60,000-mile guarantee is an added value feature included in your 1976 Vega car.

The Chevrolet guarantee covers 60,000 miles or 5 years, whichever occurs first. The guarantee is for 1976 Vegas equipped with 4-cylinder, 140-cubic-inch engines. It means that should something go wrong with the engine, your Chevy dealer will fix it free. The guarantee covers repairs to the cylinder block, cylinder head, all internal engine parts, intake and exhaust manifolds, and water pump, made necessary because of defects in materials or workmanship. It does not cover repairs required because of accident, misuse or lack of proper maintenance.

See your Chevy dealer for a complete guarantee statement.

A 60,000-mile guarantee. That's 11,500 miles longer than Volkswagen, Toyota and Datsun combined.

One of the Dura-Built's newest features is hydraulic valve lifters. They'll help your 1976 Vega engine run more quietly than previous Vega engines.

To give your new Vega engine improved oil circulation, the Dura-Built engine has separate passages for crankcase

ventilation and oil return.

Vega's aluminum alloy pistons are coated with enough iron to give your 1976 Vega a durable engine in terms of piston wear characteristics.

Should the unexpected occur, there's even an early warning system that tells you when the cooling system is a pint low.

Is the Vega Dura-Built engine built to take it? Don't take our word for it. Ask Death Valley.



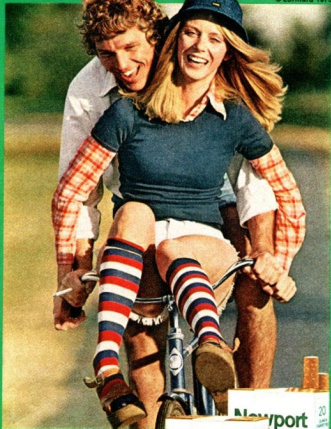
**'76 VEGA.
BUILT TO TAKE IT.**

Chevrolet



Alive with pleasure! Newport

© Lorillard 1975



After all,
if smoking isn't
a pleasure,
why bother?



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Kings, 17 mg. "tar", 1.2 mg.
nicotine, 100's, 21 mg. "tar",
1.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette.
FTC Report Apr. '75.

CINEMA

filmed by professionals and the price is right. She refuses, however, to discuss her politics on camera. Too personal.

Exhibition, a French documentary about Claudine's life, loves and heavy thoughts, has certain pretenses at social and psychological significance. The heroine may be observed, shedding tears in closeup, as she tells how she was raped by an uncle when she was only 15. This assault precipitated a descent into prostitution and an unfortunate marriage in which her soldier husband insisted on having a child against his wife's express wishes. "He tied me down to the bed and everything," she reveals. All of this occurred before Claudine's ascent to stardom in a series of quickies produced by France's newly burgeoning porno industry.

One of Claudine's most remarkable skills is a knack for constant searching of the soul even as more accessible parts of her body are being set upon by a bat-

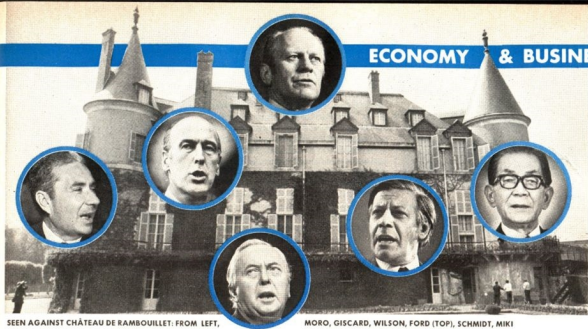


BECCARIE REFLECTING IN *EXHIBITION*
Drawing the line at producers.

tery of lovers. She submits willingly to such film makers' queries from off-camera as "Where are you now, Claudine?" even as she is finishing up a bout of love-making. Claudine seems to have a depressing and detumescent effect on men and performs rather more proficiently, at least for the cameras, with members of her own sex: "I think being bisexual gives one balance."

An official of the French Ministry of Culture wrote with the utmost seriousness about "the exceptional human testimony" delivered in the film. *Exhibition*, in fact, is a formidable success in France and was shown recently during the New York Film Festival at Lincoln Center. Some 15 blocks south of that great concrete culture bunker, down around the Times Square area, *Exhibition* would be spotted pretty quickly for what it really is—porn that makes excuses for itself.

J.C.



SEEN AGAINST CHÂTEAU DE RAMBOUILLET: FROM LEFT,

MORO, GISCARD, WILSON, FORD (TOP), SCHMIDT, MIKI

In the six centuries since its construction began, the secluded Château de Rambouillet, located 33 miles from Paris, has housed a long list of illustrious guests, including Marie Antoinette and Napoleon Bonaparte. This weekend the château will again make history by serving as the site of the world's first postwar summit meeting devoted exclusively to economics. The three-day gathering will bring together government chiefs of six nations that account for roughly 70% of the non-Communist world's production and trade: U.S. President Gerald Ford, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Japanese Premier Takeo Miki, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Italian Premier Aldo Moro. Their purpose: to discuss ways in which their countries can cooperate to lift the industrial world out of its worst business slump since the 1930s.

In the U.S. that slump has given way to a recovery that has lately looked surprisingly vigorous, even though it is still dogged by a distressingly high jobless rate and a possible resurgence of inflation. Last week the Labor Department reported that unemployment in October climbed to 8.6% of the work force, from 8.3% in September—the first increase in five months. In addition, October's wholesale prices rose at a horrifying, though probably misleading compound annual rate of 23.9%. But the outlook is still for continued growth in production, which will create jobs.

In the rest of the industrial world, the troubles are worse: not only has inflation been raging at rates generally higher than in the U.S., but recession

still has an iron grip on most major economies. Despite the October jump, unemployment in the U.S. has come down from a peak of 9.2% in May, but it is still rising in Canada, Britain, Germany, France and most other European nations. In several, the jobless rolls are likely to go on expanding for another six months or so. In the 24 industrial countries that belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, a staggering total of 14.5 million workers are now idle—more than the entire population of The Netherlands. Production of goods and services spurred in the U.S. in the third quarter, but it is still stagnant or declining in Canada and the nine-nation European Common Market.

Worse, there are only faint and flickering signs of revival in most nations except for the U.S. and, to a lesser extent, Japan. Economists generally do not expect any real upturn in European business until mid-1976—and they worry that even then the recovery may be so weak that, in the words of OECD Secretary-General Emile van Lennep, "it would not gather momentum and might peter out." One reason: the recession has pushed the volume of world trade 10% below the 1974 level, the first decline since World War II. The drop has a vicious-circle effect: as each country's economy sags, imports are reduced and the consequent fall-off in world trade then cuts each nation's exports, deepening the slide.

These woes climax an unusual period in which the world's major economies have been moving in concert on a wild roller-coaster course. First, in 1972, all the leading economies swung into a boom at the same time—a

boom that, combined with poor harvests and price gouging later by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, aggravated global inflation. By early 1974, price increases in the OECD nations reached an unsustainable compound annual rate of 16.8%. Then, as one government after another moved to curb inflation by dampening demand, all the key economies rapidly tumbled into recession.

The swift spread, first of inflation, then of recession, across national borders has dramatized as never before the growing economic interdependence of all industrial nations. But that interdependence has not been matched by any close coordination of economic policy. The major countries continue to follow individual courses—and sometimes to shift policy abruptly. Canada last month imposed selective wage-price controls that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau had vehemently denounced during the 1974 election campaign. Harold Wilson last week announced a new British economic program under which, for the next five years, government aid to industries judged likely to grow most rapidly will take precedence over social and welfare spending. Taken at face value, that would reverse the priorities followed by every British government, Labor or Conservative, since World War II.

It is for the stated purpose of exploring whether greater coordination is



possible that France's Giscard has arranged the Rambouillet meeting. His initiative is being subjected to wildly differing appraisals. U.S. Investment Banker Henry Fowler, who was Secretary of the Treasury under Lyndon Johnson, says that the meeting will test "the capability of free democratic governments to demonstrate that they are workable in an interdependent world." On the other hand, Europe abounds in cynics who view the summit as an empty show staged by leaders anxious to demonstrate that they are doing something and thus escape blame for failing to manage their own economies successfully.

If nothing else the Rambouillet meeting is an important symbol of world leaders' willingness at least to consult each other on policy and avoid conflicts that might weaken the global economy. The gathering might also produce a useful reaffirmation by the government heads that they will resist growing pressure in every country for import quotas and other self-defeating protectionist measures.

But on two more substantive issues, no agreement is likely. France and some other countries will ask for a revision of the present exchange-rate system, under which supply and demand in money markets determines the value of dollars, marks, francs, yen and other currencies. They want a "stable but adjustable" set-up that would pledge central banks to keep fluctuations between the dollar and other key currencies within a limited range, perhaps 7% to 10%.



These countries argue with some justification that it is all but impossible to make important decisions on trade and investment when the value of currencies can rise or fall as much as 20% within six months, as some in fact have. Schmidt believes that volatile shifts in exchange rates contributed substantially to the recession by reducing business investment and curtailing trade. But U.S. officials, notably Treasury Secretary William Simon, are strongly in favor of continued free-floating exchange rates. They view any move away from that as a step back toward the old system of rigidly fixed exchange rates that produced one disruptive monetary crisis after another.

On an even more important topic, U.S. officials are bracing themselves to resist some polite arm-twisting by the Europeans, who believe that a fast U.S. upturn would mightily help to lift other economies out of recession by increasing American demand for imports. Giscard, Schmidt and other leaders are particularly interested in persuading Ford to avoid any actions that might slow down the U.S. economy, such as letting New York City go bankrupt, cutting Government spending or allowing interest rates to rise. Their entreaties will get a sympathetic hearing from Ford, but nothing else. Administration policymakers assert that they cannot make critical economic and political decisions solely to help other nations; they must above all be careful not to speed up inflation.

But Ford's most telling argument in turning aside pleas for more action will be that by cutting taxes \$22 billion this year, the U.S. has already done more to stimulate its economy than any other nation represented at the summit—and with results that show.

Despite its difficulties, the U.S. seems well on its way out of recession. Most members of the TIME Board of Economists are concerned about the latest rise in prices and joblessness. But even such inveterate critics of Administration policy as Walter Heller, Arthur Okun, Joseph Pechman and Otto Eckstein are satisfied that recovery is about on schedule, at least for now. Says Okun: "If anything, people are revising the level of their forecasts upward from last summer."

Real G.N.P. shot up at an 11.2% annual rate in the third quarter, mostly because businessmen at last stopped living off their shelves and out of their warehouses and started filling sales orders from new production. The end of inventory liquidation gave the economy a one-shot jolt that will not be repeated, so the fourth-quarter gain will be considerably more modest. But that will not represent any real setback. The



MIDDAY SHOPPERS STREAM THROUGH LORD &

Administration this week will officially predict a 6% growth for next year. That will be enough to bring unemployment down, though at an agonizingly slow pace. The October jump in unemployment reflects a sharp increase in the number of job seekers, many of them women, who were encouraged to seek work by the brightening economic outlook. Before then, they had not even bothered to look. White House economists foresee for 1976 an unemployment average of about 7.5%—higher than the rate in any other major industrial nation.

The economy is expected to get a big lift from consumer spending, which is likely to pick up smartly in the months ahead, especially for major appliances, furniture and household goods. Corporate profits, though still behind those of a year ago, have risen from their lows of early 1975—and so, say Heller and George Perry, an economist with the Brookings Institution, business spending for new plant and equipment will also pick up. The auto industry, which has been more deeply depressed than almost any other for the past two years, has begun to turn round. Auto sales in October jumped 23% above those for the same month of 1974, as the 1976 models got off to a swift start in dealer showrooms. Car purchases next year are expected to rise to 9.5 million or 10 million, including imports—below the record 11.5 million autos sold in 1973 but well above this year's expected total of 8.7 million.

On the darker side, housing, one of the nation's most important industries, remains in the doldrums. Largely because of continuing high prices and towering mortgage interest rates, forecasts for housing starts this year have been repeatedly scaled down, from 1.75 million initially to 1.5 million and now 1.2 million. Nor is the outlook for 1976 much better: starts are expected to go no higher than about 1.6 million, v. 2.4 million in 1972.

The deadliest shock to the economy



TAYLOR STORE IN CHICAGO

would be a return of sustained double-digit inflation. That likelihood is not easy to gauge. The October leap in wholesale prices seems to have been partly a statistical fluke, caused by difficulty in calculating seasonal adjustments. M. Kathryn Eickhoff, vice president and treasurer of the New York economic consulting firm of Townsend-Greenspan, suggests that the real annual rate of increase may be only about half the 23.9% reported. Still, the October jump was disquieting: it involved not only metals and cars but also farm products, lumber, textiles, clothing, furniture and household durables, all of which climbed substantially in price. For 1976, the Administration is predicting a rise in consumer prices of less than 6%.

There is a lingering fear that the Federal Reserve Board will choke off the recovery by following a parsimonious money policy. The board has pledged to increase the nation's money supply by 5% to 7½% a year, but during October the money stock actually went down. Lately, though, the board seems to have been easing its stance. Last week, in what experts interpreted as confirmation of the new trend, Chairman Arthur Burns told the Senate Banking Committee that the Federal Reserve would now follow a "course of moderation" in order to promote recovery. Already, as a result of the board's gingerly move toward expansion, interest rates are inching down: banks' prime rate on loans to blue-chip corporations has dropped from 8% to 7½% in the past eight weeks. Heller believes that as the economy rebounds, the Federal Reserve will be forced to take an even more accommodating position, and will expand money supply as much as 8½% a year.

The newest and most immediate worry is the impact of a default by New York City, which could happen practically any day now. President Ford, who has vowed to veto any congressional attempt to help the city avoid bankrupt-

cy, insists that financial markets have already discounted a default and so the impact could be contained without serious damage to the economy.

He is disputed by a host of critics who fear that a default could abort the recovery. Robert Nathan, a member of TIME's Board of Economists, says that if New York goes under, the shock waves in money markets will drive up borrowing costs for many states and municipalities, forcing them to cut services and spending and hike taxes, and drastically harm the economy. A New York bankruptcy would also wipe out much of the value of \$2 billion worth of city securities held by banks round the country. Though the Federal Reserve has pledged to lend the banks enough money to keep them from closing, they might have to curtail their lending to business. Much of the remaining \$11.5 billion in city securities is held by individuals, who would suffer serious losses of principal and interest and thus have their buying power reduced.

All together, Otto Eckstein estimates, default would eventually cost the nation a disastrous \$14 billion in lost production and 500,000 jobs. The effect would be greatly magnified if New York State followed the city into default—and unfortunately that is much more than a remote possibility. Basically, the effects of a New York City bankruptcy are immeasurable, since the situation would be unprecedented. But many economists believe the risk is too great to be worth taking. Says Heller: "No one knows how to judge a New York City default on a Richter scale of financial earthquakes, but we should try to handle it without testing the repercussions."

If the U.S. recovery has its flaws, problems and worries, it is still strong enough to excite the envy of most other industrial nations. Generally, the recession hit them later and less severely than the U.S., but it is lingering longer. One major reason is that these nations generally are far more dependent on foreign trade than the U.S., and

thus more sensitive to their neighbors' troubles. Exports account for only 7% of gross national product in the U.S., but 19% in Britain, 12% in Japan, 23% in Germany, 23% in Canada and no less than 50% in Belgium. The situation in detail in the most important nations:

BRITAIN, the industrial world's perennial postwar invalid, continues to languish. Output this year will be a bit below that of 1974, and Common Market experts predict zero growth next year as well. Meanwhile, exports are sluggish and living standards are dropping. Unemployment has passed the politically sensitive level of a million workers and could hit 1.5 million this winter. Prime Minister Wilson's Labor Government can do little to stimulate the economy because inflation, despite price controls, is already roaring along at an annual rate of 27.9%, highest in any major nation.

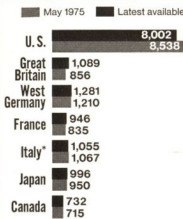
Britain's big hope remains a flood of oil wealth from under the North Sea in the 1980s. To dramatize it, Queen Elizabeth last week ceremonially pressed a button permitting oil from the first major field to flow into Britain. To recovery through until then, Wilson last week announced a program of aid to 30 industries selected for their promise of growth—but failed to say which ones they will be, whether the aid will consist of subsidies or loans or how much cash the government will put up. Until such details are spelled out, the program is little more than an overdue govern-



AIR FRANCE WORKERS PROTESTING IN PARIS

Unemployment

Seasonally Adjusted
(in Thousands)

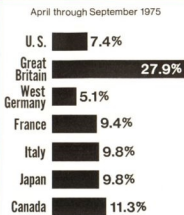


*unadjusted

TIME Chart/The Chartmakers, Inc.

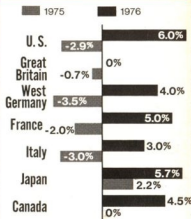
Inflation

Compound Annual Rate



Real G.N.P.

Forecasts



ment promise to be more sympathetic in dealing with industry.

GERMANY, Western Europe's most influential economy, seems to be caught in a web of indecision. Despite some signs of recovery in recent months, the nation this year will suffer its steepest decline in output, about 3%, since the founding of the Federal Republic after World War II. The forecast for next year calls for real growth in G.N.P. of about 4%. But the upturn is beginning from such a low base—German industry today is operating at only 75% of capacity—that even with that relatively healthy advance the economy will be operating well below optimum levels. The unemployment rate has risen to 4.4%, and could well go higher this winter. In Germany, that is high enough to raise grim memories of the '20s and '30s, when legions of jobless workers flocked to Fascism.

The rate of inflation is now only 5.1%, a pace that would allow the Schmidt government to move to more stimulative policies. But so far Bonn has held back, contending that to follow a more vigorous course would only risk re-igniting German inflation without doing much to boost demand in the depressed economies of its chief trading partners—a rather Ford-like position. Though the government has made some stabs at stimulation with investment grants, tax cuts and a highway spending program, German businessmen continue to hold down capital spending. Jittery German consumers are also saving an inordinate amount of their disposable income, so the economy remains sluggish.

FRANCE has moved ahead of all its Common Market neighbors in its anti-recession efforts. Its actions follow a

year-and-a-half battle to curb inflation. By September, however, it was obvious that the nation's output would show a decline of more than 2% this year. At that point, President Giscard ordered almost \$7 billion pumped into the economy in the form of investment subsidies, corporate tax breaks and public works programs. As a result, France should have the most vigorous recovery in Europe next year.

Already some movement is apparent. Industrial production has increased slightly, and construction contracts and auto sales are up. Unemployment, though, continues to grow, and last week, by one estimate, reached an explosive 1 million, touching off a rash of strikes by angry workers at post offices, subways and electric utilities. Riot cops were called to sweep Air France employees out of ground facilities at the Paris airports, where they were staging a sit-in strike. Giscard's policy has also spurred consumer-price inflation, which inched up to an annual rate of 9.4% in September, almost a percentage point over that of a month before.

ITALY, which only last year seemed to be on the brink of collapse, is haltingly making its way back. Its output this year will probably show a decline of 3%. Industrial production is running 10% or more below a year ago, and the country's factories are operating at less than 70% of capacity. Unemployment now stands at 1.1 million and could go as high as 1.7 million next year. That is the price the country has had to pay to get down its ruinous rate of inflation—which has fallen from 24% last year to 9.8% in September—and repay its foreign debt. With prices moving more slowly, Prime Minister Moro's government has recently enacted a \$6 billion

recovery program, and there is a good chance that the Italian economy will begin to climb slowly in mid-1976. The pace of any economic *risorgimento* will depend on two things: whether the often inefficient bureaucracy can get the expansionary program moving quickly enough, and the level of wage increases that will emerge from the current round of national labor-union contract negotiations for 4.5 million workers.

JAPAN is on the road back to prosperity, though no one would think so after listening to the hand-wringing comments of its government and business leaders. Prime Minister Miki laments that "never before have we experienced so complex and difficult an economic situation as this one." Nonetheless, output is expected to rise 2.2% this year and 5.7% in 1976. That follows Japan's first genuine postwar recession, which was brought on by a government clampdown on demand and credit last year after the explosion in world oil prices sent Japanese inflation soaring to a frightening annual rate of 25%. As domestic demand fell, Japan's aggressive businessmen swiftly expanded foreign sales, helping to right the economy but annoying such hard-pressed trading partners as the U.S., Britain and France. Last year alone Japan increased its exports over the year before by 50%, to \$58 billion. And this year, despite the slack in global trade, it expects to export another \$57 billion.

With the inflation rate cut to less than half, the government has started a program to stimulate home demand: it has authorized \$6 billion in additional spending for public works and housing, and lowered the central-bank interest rate from 9% last year to 6.5%. Businessmen insist that that is not enough,

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Base sticker Price*	\$2,895		\$2,899
Passengers	4		2
Horsepower	92 hp.		52 hp.
Weight	2,558 lbs.		1,931 lbs.
EPA Mileage estimates*	38 hwy., 25 city		40 hwy., 28 city

And compare all Pinto's standard features.

It's not how small you make it, it's how you make it small.

For about the same money as a 2-passenger Scooter, you get more car in the new Pinto Pony MPG. Like standard features on Pony not available on Scooter: Chrome moldings and bumpers. Carpeting. Glove box door. Armrests. Mini-console. Adjustable passenger seat. And inside hood release.

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In addition, you'll find molded vinyl door trim on Pinto Pony MPG. On Scooter it's fiberboard. And your exterior color selection

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Value you can compare.

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*More about price. Pony base sticker price (\$2,895) excludes title, taxes and destination charges. Shown with optional wsw tires (\$33). Comparisons are base sticker prices excluding title, taxes and destination charges. Actual prices and comparisons will vary by dealer. More about mileage. Since these are EPA estimates, your actual mileage will vary depending on your car's condition and optional equipment and how and where you drive. Calif. ratings lower.

Pinto Pony MPG's more road-hugging weight, wider stance, bigger engine, higher level of standard equipment, high EPA ratings and low price all add up to more car for the money.

The closer you look,
the better we look.

FORD PINTO

FORD DIVISION



and they do have some problems. An expert at the Fuji Bank estimates that one out of every four of Japan's debt-laden companies is operating in the red, and in a nation where unemployment has been almost unknown, some university seniors face trouble getting a job. One survey of 1,586 corporations found 511 planning not to hire new graduates next year.

CANADA has long taken the rather smug and unrealistic position that no matter what difficulties were encountered by other countries, its economy, based on a wealth of natural resources such as oil, uranium and timber, would be immune. By September, however, Prime Minister Trudeau confronted mounting evidence that Canada was in deep economic trouble. The country was in recession, the jobless rate had climbed to 7.2%, inflation was running at a compound annual rate of 12.7%, and wage increases were sprinting at an annual rate of 18.8%—twice that of the U.S. On Oct. 13, Trudeau announced to a surprised nation the imposition of selective wage-price controls. Labor unions immediately protested and vowed to take their case against controls to court. More thoughtful critics agree that controls will probably help dampen inflation. But, asks a senior economist of the Bank of Canada, "what about the rest of the problems?" Trudeau has so far failed to offer any policy to expand production or reduce joblessness.

Despite its own domestic problems, the U.S. cannot afford to ignore the weak state of its trading partners' economies. Magnanimity apart, continuing recession in Europe and Canada, which provide important markets for American goods, is certain to impede U.S. trade and the recovery in general. In addition, the global downturn cuts directly into the profits of a growing number of American-based companies that get more than half of their earnings from foreign operations. Among them are such familiar names as Pfizer, Gillette, Hoover, Johnson & Johnson, Scholl, J. Walter Thompson, F.W. Woolworth, Dow Chemical, Avis, International Harvester, and Black & Decker.

Fundamentally, the opportunities for coordination of international economic policy are limited. There is no magic formula for determining how rapidly a nation can stimulate its economy without kindling ruinous inflation, or how hard it can crack down on inflation without bringing on a recession. For the moment, at least, every government has to grapple with that problem on its own, by what might as well be recognized as a process of trial and error. So long as that is so, national economic policies are bound to differ.

But if the opportunities for cooperation are limited, they are not negligible. The U.S., for example, might reconsider its stand on exchange rates.

While nobody wants to go back to rigidly fixed exchange rates, some agreed rules to stabilize world money markets are needed. In addition, governments can at least try to avoid policies that hurt their neighbors—for example, subsidizing exports and discriminating against imports enough to give one nation an unfair advantage in world trade. The significance of the Rambouillet summit is that heads of government are no longer leaving such questions to their economic advisers, but tackling them in person. The summit thus could usefully be followed by further similar meetings.

EXECUTIVES

End of the Sarnoff Era

When Robert Sarnoff succeeded his father as head of RCA Corp. in 1968, the family's continued dominance over the diversified electronics giant seemed all but assured. Last week, though, "Bobby" Sarnoff abruptly quit as chief executive because directors would not give him a raise. That left RCA without a Sarnoff at its head for the first time in its 45 years of existence. In a move that stunned New York's business community, RCA announced that Sarnoff, at the age of 57, also would step down as chairman, and even as a director on Dec. 31. RCA said that Sarnoff, who is married to Metropolitan Opera Singer Anna Moffo, "intends to pursue other interests of a personal nature."

TIME has learned that a few weeks ago Sarnoff, whose contract expires at year's end, indicated he wanted more money and intimated that he might resign if his demands were not met. In 1974 he was paid \$326,000 in salary and earned deferred incentive awards totaling \$157,000. After making his wishes known, he left New York on a business-and-pleasure trip, touring the Far East and stopping in Australia, where his wife was singing. He returned to New York a few days before last week's regular board meeting. While he was away a board committee, made up of several of the company's seven outside directors, that reviews employee contracts met a number of times to consider his demands. Last week the committee met briefly again, decided to turn Sarnoff down, and notified him as the meeting of the full 15-man board was beginning. Sarnoff promptly resigned.

RCA has had an erratic earnings record under Sarnoff, and some investors were obviously pleased by his departure. The day after his resignation was announced, the company's stock rose 75¢ a share, to \$19.25, in heavy New York Stock Exchange trading. In 1971, the company wrote off a \$490 million pretax loss when it abandoned the unprofitable computer business that Sarnoff had caused it to enter. At the time there was speculation that he might be forced out by dissident directors, includ-

ing Industrialist Martin Seretean—who has since left the board, though he remains RCA's largest stockholder. Sarnoff has also been openly criticized for the publicity buildup that RCA gave Moffo after they married in 1974.

Anthony Conrad, RCA's 54-year-old president, takes over as chief executive immediately. Conrad has won high marks from the financial community for the way in which he has run the company's service and electronics divisions. RCA's profits nonetheless fell 38%, to \$113.3 million, in 1974 and continued to decline during the first half of this year, largely because of lagging sales of television sets and other consumer products. In the third quarter, however, RCA profits rose 9% over those for the same three months of 1974, to \$32.8 million.

Sarnoff, who still owns 79,338 shares of RCA common stock, has long lived



SARNOFF WITH MOFFO AFTER WEDDING
Out after failing to get a raise.

in the shadow of the image of his innovative father, Brigadier General David Sarnoff, who pioneered radio broadcasting in the 1920s and color television in the 1950s. Robert Sarnoff's now-ended RCA career began in 1948 with the parent corporation's National Broadcasting Co. subsidiary. He became head of NBC in 1955 and was elevated to the presidency of RCA in 1966. Shortly after, he started RCA on an ambitious diversification effort. His main acquisitions: Hertz Corp., Random House Inc., Cushman & Wakefield Inc. (real estate) and Coronet Industries Inc. (a carpet and furniture manufacturer). A majority of RCA's board backed Sarnoff throughout his acquisition program, and even last week directors did not criticize his management—but they thought his pay was high enough.



REPRESENTATIVE ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN



MAUREEN ("MO") DEAN



REPRESENTATIVE BARBARA JORDAN

BOOKS

Sisters in Scandal

"MO": A WOMAN'S VIEW OF WATERGATE
by MAUREEN DEAN with HAYS GOREY
286 pages. Simon & Schuster, \$8.95.

THE WOMEN OF WATERGATE
by MADEIRA EDMONDSON and
ALDEN DUER COHEN
228 pages. Stein & Day, \$8.95.

The scatterbrained, starry-eyed blonde comes to Washington with her sugar daddy and dimly perceives that the place is a den of corruption. She may be dumb in the wiles of this world, but she is not a crook. Ultimately, her innate goodness and the love of an idealistic young man allow her to kick the dust of all those capital shenanigans from her heels. Judy Holliday could have played this part perfectly. In fact, in *Born Yesterday*, she did.

Yet Maureen Dean, the china doll of the televised Watergate hearings, claims that this is her life—with a couple of small complications. For one thing, she was dragged into and out of that mess by the same man: Presidential Counsel John Dean. For another, Mo makes it perfectly clear that she was not born yesterday. At 25, the ex-stewardess and daughter of a onetime Ziegfeld chorine had been married twice and was a frequent nightclub companion of Hollywood swingers. As she tells it, when one engagement soured, Mo cannily retained a lawyer and had the ring appraised: "It was an \$18,000 ring, insured for \$25,000, that I sold for \$12,000, of which \$4,000 went to the attorney."

Shrewd Cookie. This is high—if unintentional—comedy, and so is Mo's account of her newlywed days, with her methodical husband simultaneously tending her and the unraveling Watergate cover-up. Dean does not tell her why he is called back to Washington during two attempts at a honeymoon, and Mo does not ask: "It was just one of the many elements of his work for the President, and neither of us wanted

to talk all night about what he had been doing all day." Besides, the role of dutiful wife requires pride in her young take-charger: "I could sense," she bumbles, "that John had become much more important to the President and others in the White House."

Such scaring naïveté from so shrewd a cookie is hard to buy. Mo's defense of her husband as the contrite hero who saved the Republic singlehanded is no easier to purchase. Yet with the help of TIME Washington Correspondent Hays Gorey, Mo has fashioned something more than a palpitating apology. She was, after all, an accidental witness to some high crimes and misdemeanors, and her views of the pressure-cooked conformity of the Nixon White House are mordant and telling. After a circus-spect New Year's Eve party with two other uptight Administration couples, Mo notes: "As far as I could tell, no one had taken offense at anything anyone else had done or said, so the evening had to be chalked up as a roaring success."

She wonders what she and other Administration wives could—or would—have done if they had known what their husbands were up to. She thinks that "at least some of them (myself included) would have said 'Get out of it. It's wrong.'" It is folly to suppose that the Nixon men would then have slapped their foreheads and said, "Gee, we never thought of that. Hey, fellows, what we're doing is wrong." It is sad that so few of the wives got the chance to try.

Macho Politics. Mo also rates a chapter in *The Women of Watergate*, but then so does every other female however remotely connected to the scandal. This paste-up of old clippings serves principally as a reminder that Watergate created not just victimized wives but several heroines: Washington Post Publisher Katharine Graham, Prosecutor Jill Wine Volner, Representatives Barbara Jordan and Elizabeth Holtzman. Aside from that, the book sags with speculation ("Yet there is a great deal

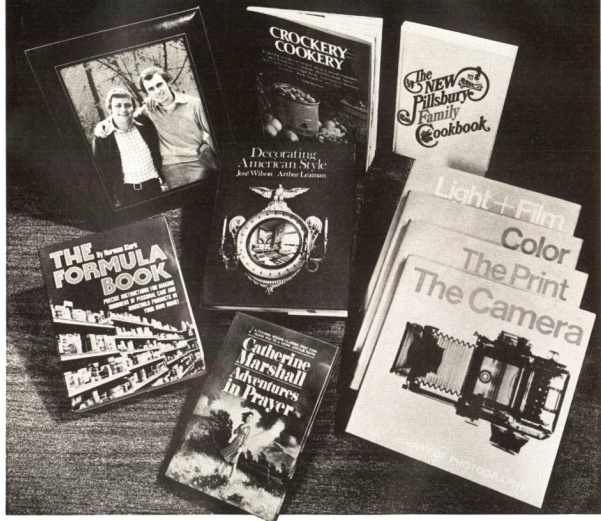


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BOOKS

that [Pat Ellsberg] does not say, but it is impossible to believe she has not felt") and shameless padding ("Jill Volner certainly did not grow up in a way that would lead any rational observer to suspect that she would ever break new ground or occupy a particularly unusual position"). Such blathering cannot hide a central fact: from Abplanalp to Ziegler, the actors and extras in the Watergate drama were disproportionately male. Mo Dean grasps this and, while prattling on like an Anita Loos character, manages to make a surprisingly liberated case against the delusions of macho politics.

Paul Gray

Domestique Oblige

ROSE. MY LIFE IN SERVICE

by ROSINA HARRISON

237 pages, Viking, \$8.95.

Servants of a dead pharaoh were sometimes sealed in the tombs with the royal remains so that they could cater their master's needs in the hereafter. There may have been a more worldly reason as well: entombed servants could not publish their memoirs. Had the dynasties lasted as long as the pyramids, the world might have been spared the reminiscences of Eisenhower's butler, Jacqueline Kennedy's White House cook and, most recently, the man who changed the light bulbs and walked the dogs for Lyndon Johnson.

Rose: *My Life in Service* is a cut above such backstairs trivia. Rosina Harrison of Yorkshire was 30 years old when she became Lady Astor's personal maid in 1929. Her salary was about

RETMANN ARCHIVE



LADY ASTOR DICTATING, CIRCA 1920
Allowing back talk.



ROSINA HARRISON

Sassing the slaveholder.

\$300 a year, plus room, board and entertainment. There was plenty of the latter before Rose retired at Lady Astor's death in 1964. The lady had been born Rosina Langhorne of Danville, Va., the spirited daughter of a horse auctioneer. After divorcing her first husband, a Boston sporting man and alcoholic, Nancy took her young son to England. There, in 1906, she married Waldorf Astor. He was the great-great-grandson of John Jacob Astor I, the German immigrant who made a staggering fortune in the American fur trade and New York real estate. His grandson, William Waldorf Astor, a failed conservative politician, took the family name and fortune to England in 1889.

Common Law. The Waldorf seat in the House of Lords and Cliveden, the family mansion, passed to Waldorf in 1919. Nancy not only became a lady but also moved into her husband's vacant seat in Commons. She was the first woman Member of Parliament, where she remained until 1945. An advocate of women's and children's rights, she constantly issued statements on her other enthusiasms: Christian Science, the prohibition of intoxicating beverages and the dangers of Communism and labor unions.

Rose Harrison exhibits a minimal interest in her lady's position in political history. In true *Upstairs/Downstairs* tone, she is insufferably proud of knowing her place and downright snobbish about her ignorance. "Before we went to Italy," Rose recalls vaguely, "her ladyship spoke to me and told me not to mention the name Mussolini. I suppose he must have come to power not too long before that time."

In her own bailiwick, however, the

maid seems to have sized up the situation perfectly. Between the lines of froth about clothes, jewels, travel, parties and grand houses, she implicitly lays down the common law: servants, not masters, are frequently the keepers of traditions, institutions and morals. They are rewarded by living high off the leavings of power and opulence.

Rose's self-portrait as the indispensable, blunt-spoken lady's lady has already been authenticated by Nancy Astor's biographers. But Rose's impression that her boss seriously put up with her criticism is less acceptable. It is more likely that by letting Rose sass her, Lady Astor reverted to the practice of some of her Southern slaveholding ancestors who allowed back talk from black mammys as a form of amusement. She was certainly capable of such cruel diversions. Despite Rose's profuse claims of devotion, her book leaves little doubt that she felt Lady Astor was self-centered, tactless, sadistic, incapable of affection, a racial and religious bigot and even an abuser of pets.

Although not vengeful, *Rose: My Life in Service* has the unmistakable markings of an exercise in British upmanship. A Yorkshire girl is equal—if not superior—to the daughter of a Virginia horse trader.

R.Z. Sheppard

The Mot Juste

BERNSTEIN'S REVERSE DICTIONARY

by THEODORE M. BERNSTEIN

277 pages, Quadrangle, \$10.

One evening Theodore Bernstein, consulting editor of the *New York Times* and for years its linguistic policeman, was trying to think of the term for a sentence or word that reads the same both

THE NEW YORK TIMES



THEODORE BERNSTEIN
Where is mooncalf?

BOOKS

backward and forward, as in "Madam, I'm Adam." It came to him the next morning (*palindrome*), and with it the inspiration for this book—a reverse dictionary that alphabetically lists an array of meanings and then retrieves the word that has momentarily disappeared into the outer fog banks of the brain.

The reader vaguely recalls a lovely term for a mirage—something Italianate. He checks Bernstein under "mirage," especially as observed in the Strait of Messina, and finds *fata morgana*. "Midget or dwarf" leads to *homunculus*. "Ecstasy of a religious nature" brings forth *theopathy*. "Mistake or misplay" discovers *fozle*. And so on.

Body Stealer. There is some padding in the 13,390 entries. Is anyone likely to misplace *humid* or *fervent* or *dawdle*? Bernstein includes some delightful, half-remembered curios—a body stealer, for example, is a resurrectionist. But where is *mooncalf*? Where is *poshust*? Sometimes the clue words are elusive. If one goes hunting for *callipygian*, he cannot look under "buttocks, rounded" or some such, but must hit "shapely buttocks" or "beautiful buttocks." ("Buttocks that are fat" yields *steatopygia*—which is a different matter altogether.) Bernstein's backward dictionary is a kind of combination thesaurus and crossword-puzzle dictionary. It gives only the "target" words, not their pronunciations and derivations. For moments of verbal parapraxis the deipnosophist seeking just the *mot juste* (*utrichous?* *schlep?*) may wish to keep it handy. Too frequent a reliance on the book, however, may have the reader sounding like William F. Buckley.

Lance Morrow

Best Sellers

FICTION

- 1—*Ragtime*, Doctorow (1 last week)
- 2—*Curtain*, Christie (2)
- 3—*Looking for Mr. Goodbar*, Rossner (3)
- 4—*Humboldt's Gift*, Bellow (4)
- 5—*The Greek Treasure*, Stone (8)
- 6—*Shogun*, Clavell (5)
- 7—*The Eagle Has Landed*, Higgins (6)
- 8—*Circus*, MacLean (10)
- 9—*The Choirboys*, Wambaugh
- 10—*The Moneychangers*, Hailey (7)

NONFICTION

- 1—*Sylvia Porter's Money Book*, Porter (1)
- 2—*Power!*, Korda (2)
- 3—*Bring On the Empty Horses*, Niven (4)
- 4—*Winning Through Intimidation*, Ringer (3)
- 5—*Money*, Galbraith (6)
- 6—*TM: Discovering Inner Energy and Overcoming Stress*, Bloomfield, Cain & Jaffe (5)
- 7—*The Relaxation Response*, Benson (9)
- 8—*Total Fitness*, Morehouse & Gross (7)
- 9—*The Great Railway Bazaar*, Theroux (10)
- 10—*Making It in the Market*, Ney



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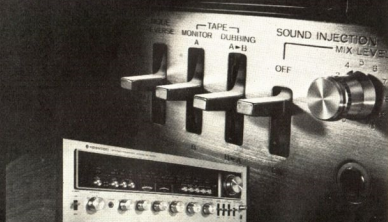
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THE THEATER

Scars of the '60s

KENNEDY'S CHILDREN
by ROBERT PATRICK

The '70s are the hangover of the '60s. The headiest intoxicant of that decade was youth, the perennial firewater of the U.S. imagination and temperament. The country is youth prone the way some people are accident prone. But the young are the least reliable guides to the future since they have not been there. In the '60s their parents, their teachers, almost all of the people who ought to have been the mentors of semi-formed minds, genuflected before the whims, threats, and often asinine behavior of the young. These elders lacked the conviction to offer guidance since they had almost casually divested themselves of a faith in God, country and family, strands without which the fabric of a society rots.

Wistful Hopes. *Kennedy's Children* is an incisive portrait of that sadly lost generation's wistful hopes and bewildered and embittered disenchantment. It is more of a documentary than a play. In the mandatory "confessional" bar on the Lower East Side of Manhattan in 1974, five representational figures address monologues to the audience. They never at any time speak to or relate to each other, except that they all bear the scars of the '60s wars.

Wanda (Barbara Montgomery) devotes herself to reminiscences of President Kennedy, whom she adored and still mourns. In the hands of Playwright Patrick, those are still extremely poi-

MARTIN SCHEP



SLOANE SHELTON, AUSTIN PENDLETON & ERIN OZKER IN *THE GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR*

gnant memories. Sparger (Don Parker) is a homosexual actor from the off-off-Broadway café scene, and he provides acerbic comic relief. Mark (Michael Sacks) is a pill-popping veteran of Viet Nam trying to sort out the dubious good from the known evil of the war. Rona (Kaiulani Lee) is the bruised child of Selma, Ala., and Woodstock, and Carla (Shirley Knight) is an ex-go-go dancer who wanted to go at least as far as Marilyn Monroe. In an altogether sterling cast, the performance of Miss Knight should receive a star of spun gold. Perhaps the most unusual "Kennedy" child of all is the man who wrote the play, 38-year-old Robert Patrick. Born to a Texas dirt-farming family, he emigrated to Greenwich Village in the early '60s, and over the next eleven years saw some 125 productions of his plays put on in café theaters and off-off-Broadway. Through some peculiar critical inadvertence, little or no attention was drawn to them.

Kennedy's Children will change that. Anyone who lived through or grew up in the '60s will find this an emotionally charged evening.

T.E. Kalem

Satirical Slavs

THE GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR
by NIKOLAI GOGOL

A fully developed bureaucracy is the most ludicrous form of tyranny. Petty, self-important and stupid men, who in themselves amount to nothing, become bloated with their functions and turn authority into farce. This is the central aspect of Gogol's 140-year-old surrealist satire *The Government Inspector*.

The play proves to be a very happy choice for the launching of an ambitious new regional theater, the Hartman Theater Company in Stamford, Conn. The

troupe is housed in a handsome converted movie house, which may be a portent of an increasingly widespread interest in the legitimate theater. Initially, the Hartman plans to put on a seven-play season, and the offerings this year will include *The Threepenny Opera*, *Joan of Lorraine* by Maxwell Anderson, and the world premiere of a play called *The Runner Stumbles* by Milan Stitt.

The plot of *The Government Inspector* is deceptively simple. The mayor of a small Russian town—his name, Anton Antonovich Skuzoznik Dmukhanovsky, is almost larger than his constituency—has received a letter indicating that the equivalent of an IRS investigator has been dispatched from the capital to examine the town's fiscal books. Since the mayor (George S. Irving) and his cronies are as crooked as counterfeit rubles, they are understandably distressed.

Local Suckers. Two of the mayor's more idiotic henchmen report they have discovered the government inspector, Ivan Alexandrovich Khlyestakov (Austin Pendleton), living incognito in a local hotel. This chap is actually an impecunious government clerk from St. Petersburg, but once he appears, sycophancy reigns supreme. Khlyestakov is a fop with the instincts of P.T. Barnum. He rooks the local suckers of all their ready cash, comes close to seducing the mayor's wife (Sloane Shelton) and daughter (Erin Ozker) and then blows town. Like the tolling of the bell of doom, a resplendent attaché arrives from Moscow to announce the coming of the real inspector general.

Pendleton is a slyly winning con man, Irving a pompously discombobulated pol, and the rest of the cast is thoroughly dependable in this wackily comic repeat fix for a czar.

T.E.K.

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